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THE PROGRESS OF NEW ZEALAND IN THE CENTURY

BY
R. F. IRVINE, M.A., AND O. T. J. ALPERS, M.A.

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PREFACE.

THE authors of this Volume have been at some disadvantage in that they were unable to meet in the course of its preparation, as they had intended to do, and have only been able to compare notes by letter. It is possible, therefore, that some repetitions may occur.

Part I, which deals with the history of New Zealand up to the year 1870, was written by Mr. Irvine; and Part II, which deals with events and legislation subsequent to 1870, by Mr. Alpers.

In the preparation of the work, information has been gathered from many sources, the most important of which are acknowledged in footnotes. The authors desire to mention here their great indebtedness to Mr. T. A. Coghlan, Government Statistician of N.S.W., who furnished the figures for the Statistical Appendix and helped in a variety of ways; to Mr. E. J. von Dadelzen, Registrar General of New Zealand, and author of the official Year Book, which contains a mine of information and has been freely drawn upon; and to Mr. Edward Tregear, editor of the "Journal of the Department of Labour, N.Z.".

TO

OUR COMMON

ALMA MATER,

CANTERBURY COLLEGE, N. Z. UNIVERSITY,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

BY THE

AUTHORS.

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PROGRESS OF NEW ZEALAND IN THE CENTURY.

PART I.

DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE ARAWA.

Alas! afterwards do thou in the evening hours
Produce and begin the talk of old,
The story of the earliest times,
Of the great ancient men.

—*Maori Song.*

It is fitting that the history of New Zealand should begin with the coming of the Maoris, the brown men who fared thither from Hawaiki, and who have been no insignificant factor in the events that have taken place in New Zealand within the last hundred years. "The seed of our coming is from Hawaiki, the seed of food, the seed of men." Between twenty and thirty generations ago they migrated to Aotea, the north island of New Zealand. A civil war raged in their old home and a chief named Ngahue fled across the seas to a land where greenstone and moas abounded. He brought back

with him specimens of greenstone and bones of a gigantic moa, and was received by his kinsmen with reverence as one returned from the dead. He excited their desire and curiosity by tales of the new land, descanting on its beauty, the fish in the sea, the great eels in the rivers, and the birds in the woods. Strife still continued in their unhappy fatherland, and the weaker party, after listening to the stories of Ngahue, determined to migrate. So they felled a totara-tree in Raratonga and with adzes made from Ngahue's greenstone, hewed the canoe "Arawa," which was formed of two canoes lashed together, with a deck house on the connecting platform. Other canoes were fashioned; among them the "Tainui," the "Matatau," the "Tokomaru," the "Takitumu." When each was finished, it was freighted with store of sweet potatoes, gourds, taros, and with rats, dogs, and a quantity of the sacred red paint. As these "pilgrim fathers" were about to push out from the shore, an old chief gave them his benediction. "Depart in peace," said he, "and when you reach the place you are going to, do not follow after the deeds of Tu, the god of war: depart and dwell in peace with all men, leave war and strife behind you." The pious wish was of little avail. The Maoris brought to New Zealand the seeds of discord as well as the taro and the kumera. Before the voyage began, Tama-te-kapua, chief of the Arawa, kidnapped Ngaroto and his wife. Ngaroto was chief of those who sailed in the Tainui and he was priest and magician as well as chieftain. Tama gave out that he had no skilful priest to make the Arawa "common"—for what had been made by a priest was *tapu*—and to perform the rites due to the occasion; for which pur-

pose he invited Ngaroto and his wife to pay a visit to the Arawa. They fell into the trap and were carried off by the unscrupulous Tama, stealer of other men's wives. Burning with anger at the trick that had been played upon him, Ngaroto resorted to the magic arts with which he was endowed. "He changed the stars of the morning into those of the evening, and he raised the winds that they should blow upon the prow of the canoe and drive it astern; and the crew of the canoe were at their wits' end, and quite forgot their skill, and the canoe dashed straight into the whirlpool, called 'The Throat of Te Parata.'" It was only when the canoe was on the verge of destruction that Ngaroto relented, moved to pity by the shrieks of the women and children, and by his incantations changed the aspect of the heavens. Then the Arawa emerged in safety from the throat of Te Parata and sailed on with favouring winds, until the shores of Aotea were seen rising from the sea. When the voyagers drew near they saw the pohutu-kawa covered with red flowers, which were reflected in the still water; from which circumstance it is argued that their coming was in the summer-time. On landing they were careful to observe the due ceremonies. The spirit of the new land they addressed on this wise:

I arrive where an unknown earth is under my feet,
I arrive where a new sky is above me,
I arrive at this land, a resting-place for me.
O spirit of the Earth! the stranger humbly offers his heart
As food for thee.

The landing was at Whanga-Paroa, where they planted sweet potatoes. Wandering along the shore, they fell in with the people of the "Tainui," and

straightway a dispute arose as to which canoe had arrived first. The rights of the matter need not occupy us here, however.

Storms had scattered the fleet, and consequently the canoes arrived at different times and landed at different places. The landing places were held sacred and the principal tribes trace their origin to special canoes. Thus the "Tainui" brought the ancestors of the Waikato and Thames tribes, and the crew of the "Arawa" settled first at Maketu, in the Bay of Plenty, offshoots proceeding to Rotorua and afterwards as far south as Wanganui.

What kernel of fact is concealed in this legend is still a matter upon which the learned are divided. Some prove, to their own satisfaction, that Hawaiki must be Hawaii or Savaii (in the Navigator Islands), or some other island or group of Polynesia. Others point out that the story of a migration from Hawaiki is a piece of lore common to the inhabitants of many of the islands now occupied by the brown Polynesian. The sailing direction mentioned in the legends is also against the theory that the Maoris came to New Zealand from the East. "When you go, look at the rising of the star and the sun, and keep the prow of your canoe to it." This is plain indication that their course was from the west. It may be, however, that the legend confuses the final migration to New Zealand with the original migration of the race from the south of Asia. Mr. Tregear's suggestion that Hawaiki is simply "Avaiki the nether world—that which sunk behind them at the stern of their canoes," is worth noting.

It is plain that the fair Polynesians have a common parentage. Speech and appearance declare their unity; but whence the race came, like the

whereabouts of Hawaiki, is still a subject of debate among ethnologists, whose theories may be found by the curious in the pages of the Polynesian Review. The latest theory may be stated as follows:

Ages ago, several thousand years ago, it may be, the Maori race dwelt in India, "on the plains and foothills of the Himalaya with their borders touching the sea on the Persian Gulf." Even at that remote period they were daring seamen, who traded with Persia and Arabia, and borrowed words from the Semitic races with whom they came in contact. Then came the Aryan invasion, before which the Maoris, an inferior race, retreated, but not before they had borrowed some tincture of the language and civilisation of the intruders. There was but one line of retreat—towards the rising sun, where previous voyages had no doubt disclosed the existence of countless islands. The migration began and was continued through centuries, for all these great ethnic movements require time. From many of the islands they ousted an original negrito race whose descendants may still be found in what is called Melanesia. In some cases black and brown intermarried. Continued pressure of Aryans and Malayans drove them onward until they spread over most of the islands of the tropical Pacific. During their many voyages, they gained still greater mastery of the sea, and extended their discoveries even to the far north. The ancestors of the fair Polynesians, whose voyages in canoes still excite our wonder, have some title, indeed, to be called the most daring navigators of the Pacific.

Passing from New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, the New Hebrides and Fiji, of which the black race had a strong hold, the Maori successively occupied

Samoa, Tahiti, Raratonga, all of which may be included under the term Hawaiki. From some of these islands came the forebears of the New Zealand Maoris. The *papatupunas* or notched sticks kept by the *tohungas* indicate that from twenty to thirty generations have passed since the Maori Columbus showed the way to New Zealand. This would place the date of their migration somewhere in the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

Recent researches appear to give colour to the theory that New Zealand was already inhabited, perhaps by an earlier wave of the same people. Various legends refer to conflicts between the emigrants and the original inhabitants. The whole subject, however, is a tissue of conjecture.

CHAPTER II.

MAORILAND.

THE islands known in Maori legends as Aotea or Aotearoa are separated from the continent of Australia by 1250 miles of deep sea. The group consists of two large islands, the North Island, called by the Maoris *Te Ika a Maui*, the Fish of Maui, and the Middle Island, *Te Wai Pounamu*, the Place of Greenstone, and a smaller island known as Stewart's Island. Besides these there are many small coastal islands and a few groups that stand sentinels at some distance from the mainland. The total area is 104,471 square miles. New Zealand—for Aotea is now a fancy name pure and simple,—is therefore a little larger than Italy, which it resembles in shape, climate, and physical character, and a little smaller than the United Kingdom. On the map it reminds one of Euclid's definition of a line, length without breadth, for it extends through fourteen degrees of latitude and its average breadth is about 100 miles.

The North Island is on the whole mountainous, yet there is a large area of level or undulating country suitable for pastoral and agricultural purposes. It is well watered land; and at the coming of the Maori densely wooded, but the progress of cultivation is rapidly diminishing the area of the original forest. In the centre lie the blue and unplumbed waters of Lake Taupo, out of which issues

the Waikato, the largest river of the island and navigable for 100 miles from its mouth. To the south of the lake rise the cones of Ruapehu (9195 feet) and Tongariro (8000 feet), the latter an active volcano; whilst in the south-western corner of the island, Mount Egmont, a dead volcano, rises in solitary grandeur from the low lying hills of Taranaki. North of Taupo is the region of thermal lakes and springs, which form one of the weirdest districts in the world. Everywhere in the North Island are signs of volcanic action. Tongariro and White Island are still active; Tarawera, after its violent outburst in 1886, is now dormant; Ruapehu has still sufficient heat to keep warm the lake that fills its crater; and Rangitoto, which faces the beautiful city of Auckland and dominates the harbour, though it has not been active within the memory of man, has not had time to cover up its latest wounds with vegetation. As for smaller extinct volcanoes, their name is legion.

The Middle Island, or as it is popularly called, the South Island, is more compact in shape and more rugged in configuration. Its whole length is traversed by the Southern Alps which, at various points, rise above 10,000 feet, Mount Cook being 12,349 feet high. In the valleys of these mountains are vast glaciers and deep glacial lakes which feed innumerable streams. The south-western corner of the island contains a series of fiords not surpassed by anything in Norway, and the coast of Marlborough is indented by many winding inlets of remarkable beauty. Fire has carved the features of the North Island; those of the Middle Island have been hewed into their present shape by wind, water, and ice, which have formed out of the attrition of

the Alps the largest level tract of country in New Zealand, the Canterbury Plains.

Mountainous, well wooded and well watered; long and narrow, with a large coast line and many harbours; an ideal home for the descendants of a maritime people. Such is the land to which the Maoris came about 500 years ago, and the English colonists less than a century ago. As the Maoris paddled their canoes along the shores or up the rivers, or forced their way through dense forests or gazed from lofty mountains upon lakes and fertile valleys, they must have become more and more contented with their choice. They valued the country, chiefly, no doubt, for the abundance of fish and birds, and for the fertility of the soil; but the landscape with its strange blending of weird, fantastic, and beautiful, must have appealed to the imagination of a people who were sufficiently advanced to compose passable romances and poems. At the present day New Zealand is the Switzerland of the South Pacific. But happily it is much more than a show place; its natural features are useful as well as ornamental, if one may borrow a phrase from the horticulturist. The "Canterbury Pilgrims," who prided themselves on their classical training, loved to compare New Zealand with Greece, a land divided by sea and mountain into many districts, the inhabitants of which were enabled to develop special and individual characteristics.

To measure history with a Greek measuring-rod is not always the best way of getting at the truth, but the "Pilgrims" were to a certain extent right. The traveller of to-day finds something peculiar and distinct in each of the larger cities; but this divergence, due partly to the original settlers, partly

to climate—for New Zealand boasts specimens of all climates—and partly to the physical features, which regulate the industries pursued in different localities, will never proceed as far as it did in Greece; it will merely give variety and an interesting complexity. New Zealand has all the natural endowments for producing a great nation; she possesses every type of scenery—savage mountains scored by storms or rent by fire, ravines filled with the rankest tropical forests, breezy uplands, inland lakes and coastal fiords that are almost lakes, geysers and volcanoes, fertile plains and valleys; and her resources are equally rich and varied. Her people will be gardeners, graziers, miners, manufacturers, sailors; and one may hope that the originality they have already shown in politics will not be wanting in literature and art.

To come to details, the most remarkable natural features are the Hot Lakes of the North Island, the Alps, Alpine lakes and fiords of the South Island, and the vegetation which clothes and gives distinction to the landscape.

Lake Taupo lies in the heart of a wonderland, a vast workshop of Vulcan. It is encircled by many volcanic cones, and the Waikato after leaving it and plunging through a rocky defile, swirls through a region where the hot nether waters, coming to the surface through countless geysers, fill the air with vapour and pour hissing streams into the river. Forty miles to the north of the great lake is a cluster of about twenty smaller lakes, surrounded by hundreds of hot springs, solfataras, fumaroles; the whole region a series of caldrons kept at boiling point by immense furnaces so near the surface that in places the tourist can feel the glow through the soles of his

boots or light his pipe with his walking-stick thrust into a fissure in the crust of earth upon which he treads. On the eastern side of Tarawera, the largest lake of the district, is Mount Tarawera which in 1886 burst into sudden and violent eruption, destroying the Pink and the White Terraces, and desolating the whole of the adjoining country. Perhaps in the course of ages another Te Tarata may be formed to challenge by its magic beauty the admiration of future travellers to the Britain of the South.

From this region of weird sights and equally weird noises it is a great contrast to turn to the Alps of the South Island. Viewed from the Canterbury Plains, the Alps are a gigantic rampart of serrated mountains, the higher peaks of which are covered with perennial snow. In winter, after a storm, they are white from summit to base and shine with so dazzling a brilliancy that the eye seeks rest by dwelling on the tawny tussock-covered plains, or the farm lands whose homesteads, girt for the most part with plantations of blue-gum, stretch north and south as far as the eye can reach.

On the eastern side, the Alps and their foothills are bare and brown, forests being found only in moist and protected valleys. The western side presents a marked contrast. Here the westerly winds deposit their moisture on coming into contact with the mountains. The rainfall is excessive and the result is that all the gorges, ravines, and valleys to the west are choked up by luxuriant vegetation. The rivers are short, little more than brawling mountain torrents that plunge through rocky gorges and wet, gloomy forests, across a narrow strip of flat land to the sea. On the Canterbury side, the rivers have

further to run, but are not essentially different in character. Originating in Alpine lakes and glaciers, they rush rapidly down to the plains where they flow over wide shingly beds, which in flood time are covered by great sheets of foaming water. During the course of ages their channels have become deeper and more confined, leaving on either side a series of terraces, the outermost of which are often several miles apart. All these rivers are liable to sudden floods, owing to heavy rains in the mountains or to the melting of the snow on the eastern slopes.

The Alpine scenery with its lakes, glaciers, scarped and jagged peaks, is little, if at all, inferior to that of the Alps in Europe. Lake Wakatipu may be taken as one of the best examples of lake scenery. It is 50 miles in length and is surrounded by forest-clad mountains which vary in height from 5000 to 9000 feet. Mount Earnshaw, 9165 feet high, dominates the whole scene with its icy peaks and glaciers. In the south of Canterbury, the mountain system culminates in a region of which Mount Cook is the central feature. The fact that the snow line in New Zealand is much lower than in Switzerland gives a variety to this region which is wanting to the Alps of Europe. The great Tasman Glacier is larger than any in Europe and is remarkable for the immense quantity of debris brought down by its moraines. Mr. Green in *The High Alps of New Zealand* has thus described the scene which met his gaze when he ascended the Tasman Glacier:—"No words at my command can express our feelings when we stood for the first time in the midst of that glorious panorama. I tried vainly to recall the view in Switzerland on the Great Aletsch Glacier, in front of the Concordia Hut, to establish some

standard of comparison. Then I tried the Gorner Glacier, on the way to Monte Rosa; but the present scene so completely asserted its own grandeur that we all felt compelled to confess in that instant that it surpassed anything we had ever seen . . . Mount Tasman was hidden by the shoulder of Mount Cook, but the great ice-fall of the Hochetter Glacier pouring down from the hollow between these two mountains presented us with as grand a spectacle as it is possible to conceive. Rising beyond this glacier, the square-topped Mount Haidinger, robed in white glaciers, stood as the next worthy member of this giant family. After dwelling on some smaller peaks our eyes swept round to the great mass of Mount de la Bêche, looking something like Monte Rosa, and occupying a conspicuous position between two main branches of the glacier. Farther off, Mount Elie de Beaumont appeared, and then the great buttresses of the Malte Brun range, which flanked the side of the glacier opposite Mount Cook, and shut out from our view its own finest peak and Mount Darwin beyond. The glacier on which we stood having area about twice as great as that of the Great Aletsch, the largest glacier in Europe, is really a union of many fine streams of ice, which, coming in on all sides in graceful curves, bear along their tale of boulders to swell the great rampart of moraine which gave us such difficulty to surmount. We counted in all thirty distinct glaciers in sight together."

The fiords to the south-west of Otago are more attractive and almost equally imposing. Some of them are of great extent and are surrounded by almost inaccessible mountains. The most typical, perhaps, as well as the best known, is Milford

Sound. The entrance is narrow and guarded by almost vertical precipices several thousand feet in height, their rugged sides draped with greenery, tree-ferns and shrubs growing in clefts wherever they can get a footing. Slender waterfalls plunge into space and are immediately dissipated into thin vapour, which sprays perpetually the vegetation that clasps and adorns the rocks. Some miles from the entrance is the Bowen Fall, which, with deafening roar, takes a sheer leap of 300 feet to the sea. In the valley at the head of the inlet is a tangled forest, where every tree is loaded with lichen and ferns.

Next to the configuration of the land, the vegetation of New Zealand is that which most catches the eye. Although far from rich in species, the vegetation is striking and luxuriant. The majority of the species are peculiar to the Colony, which botanically seems rather to connect itself with South America than with Australia, for there is in New Zealand not a single species of the eucalyptus or acacia so characteristic of Australia. The forest of New Zealand consists chiefly of varieties of pines, of which the kauri is the most notable example, but many other species are intermingled with the pines, and give richness to the foliage. Everywhere is great wealth of ferns: common bracken runs riot over the spurs and in the gullies, and gigantic tree-ferns flourish in the depths of the woods, the trees in which are bound together by lianas and covered by parasitic growths which thrive in wonderful luxuriance. Botanically New Zealand is poor in flowering plants, but the traveller who has seen whole hillsides ablaze with rata or trees crowned with masses of clematis will have little cause for complaint. It is difficult to understand Hooker's assertion that the

forests of New Zealand are monotonous and uninteresting in aspect. Probably the exact contrary is nearer the truth. The absence of singing birds and the silence of the great woods, the dark green, almost sombre hue of the foliage in certain aspects, may have suggested Hooker's remark. But the settler who has seen the forests in every mood and season, will feel little inclined to call them monotonous or uninteresting.

The plains and the lower spurs of the hills are covered with native grasses and dotted over with yellow tussocks, the prevailing colours being brown and yellow. The swamps are overgrown with flax, "nigger-heads," and the graceful feathery toi-toi and raupo. Flax was to the Maori what bamboo is to the Chinaman. Out of it he made mats, kits, mantles, fishing lines, and ropes for binding the roofs and walls of whares; and in the early days it was a valuable article of trade.

When white men first came to New Zealand they found only two specimens of mammals—the native rat or *kiore* and two small bats. The *kiore* is very like the ordinary rat in appearance, but, unlike the ordinary rat, it has not cultivated a taste for human habitations, and is rarely to be seen except in the bush, where it lives "on roots and berries." Mr. Edward Wakefield in *New Zealand after Fifty Years* tells a story of this animal which, if it be true, is so singular and interesting as to deserve repetition. "There are times when it makes its appearance in vast numbers, coming no one knows whence and going no one knows whither, yet evidently governed by some irresistible law of nature. Three or four years ago such a visitation of rats occurred on the west coast of the Middle Island, a

countless swarm of these little creatures travelling southward along the shore for a distance of more than 150 miles all going one way and all moving as fast as they could, as if impelled by an inexorable destiny, in spite of all sorts of obstacles. A large proportion of them died of hunger by the way, and the moving host were exposed throughout their journey to terrible inroads by the acclimatised brown rat, a much stronger and fiercer animal than the kiore: just as the revolted Tartars in their famous flight across Asia in the last century were pursued and assailed by the Cossacks and other ferocious nomads the whole way from the confines of Russia to the territory of the Chinese Emperor.

"After passing in a ceaseless procession along the shore for some months, the rats vanished as suddenly and as mysteriously as they had appeared; and to this day no one has been able to offer even a plausible theory regarding them. . . . The most incredible fact connected with this strange migration remains to be stated. From many observations taken at various points in the line of march of this grand army, it was ascertained, apparently beyond dispute, that they consisted solely of males, not a single female being found among great numbers of live or dead ones that were examined."

This singular animal, and the two bats and a few seals complete the list of New Zealand mammals. Snakes are conspicuous by their absence. Reptiles are represented only by lizards and the odd-looking *tuatara*, a sort of iguana, whose life is so sluggish as to be almost indistinguishable from death. It seems to be the sole survivor of an age long since departed. The birds are numerous, and some of them are almost as peculiar as the *tuatara*. The *Kiwi* or

Apteryx, for example, has no wings, no tail, and is covered with soft, furlike hair, that seems to have little resemblance to feathers. Its relation, the *weka* or wood-hen, boasts something of a tail, but its wings have been nipped in the bud. These two are of the same race as the extinct moa, a gigantic wingless bird, which, to judge from numerous skeletons found in various parts of New Zealand, must have stood twelve feet high or more. It had massive legs and must have been a powerful runner. Bones found near ancient cooking ovens prove that it was at one time hunted for food, but how long ago is only a matter of conjecture.

Hardly less remarkable is the *kea*, a gregarious nocturnal parrot which has made for itself an invidious reputation among the colonists. Its natural food consisted of berries, but recently it has become carnivorous and is very destructive to sheep. Settling on the back of the animal, it tears away skin and flesh until it reaches the kidney fat, of which it is very fond. How it arrived at its present degree of anatomical skill is a problem of which no satisfactory solution has been offered.

Among other birds worthy of mention are the *tui* or parson bird, which has a very musical note: the wood pigeon; and the paradise duck, a large and handsome bird, at one time plentiful on the lakes and rivers of the South Island. With the exception of the tui, the forests of New Zealand have few singing birds.

As has been mentioned before, the islands have specimens of all climates. On the whole, however, the climate may be described as temperate and bracing. In the north it is semi-tropical inclined to be humid as well as hot, and not unlike that of Sydney;

whilst in Canterbury and Otago the winters are often severe, snow-storms occasionally occurring even on the plains and frosts prevailing for several months of the year. The comparatively cold climate of the Middle Island is no doubt one of the reasons why the Maoris, a tropical race, never increased to any great extent south of Cook's Strait.

The rainfall is about equal to that of England; but although the atmosphere is humid, the skies are brighter than English skies. The air is never stagnant, but is stirred by breezes and winds which keep it pure and wholesome. In Canterbury the north-west wind brings a taste of the scorching heat of Australia and is the bane of the farmer who has wheat fields ripe for the harvest. With this single exception, New Zealand welcomes all the winds that blow.

The great mineral resources of New Zealand may be left to future chapters dealing with industrial developments.

CHAPTER III.

THE MAORI.

The Maori is no longer what he was, a stalwart barbarian with a crude yet sufficient polity of his own, but a thing of shreds and patches, neither civilised nor frankly savage. He is still interesting, however; his presence among the pushing Anglo-Saxons lends a romantic colour to life in New Zealand; and it is by no means certain that his race is doomed to extinction by the pakeha civilisation. Of late there has been a new movement of life among the Maoris, a recognition by the more intelligent that they must adapt themselves to altered conditions and ways of life.

It is hardly necessary to describe the appearance of a typical Maori. Brown skinned, heavily built, tall, often six feet and over; nose short and broad; forehead high and sloping; lank hair and scanty beard; mouth coarse; such are some of the epithets applicable to the type. In their native habiliments Maori men look natural and dignified; in the garments of white men their appearance is somewhat squat and vulgar, and frequently ludicrous on account of their eccentric taste in dress. Their speech is singularly musical, but with something of a wail in it. When we first knew them they tattooed their faces and bodies in a most elaborate manner; the art of tattooing being highly valued, and the artist held in great respect. Both men and women

perforated the lobes of the ears and suspended from them pieces of green jade, sharks' teeth, and other ornaments; and the men practised the singular custom which English sailors referred to as "sprit-sail-yarding" the nose.

It is somewhat of an exaggeration to say that they have the minds of children and the passions of men. Judged by European ways of thought, their actions and reasoning must often have appeared childish and inconsequent. But the Maori was more than a child: when dealing with the ordinary relations of life he could be astute, subtle, penetrating. Missionaries and teachers found them lacking in power of steady attention; and christianised Maoris excited the laughter of the profane by the strange manner in which they jumbled together facts given them by the missionaries and facts and thoughts common to their own race. This was inevitable, but it is hardly to be taken as a proof of intellectual feebleness. In spite of their adherence to superstitions that seem to us puerile, the Maoris possessed a considerable fund of common sense, of wit and humour; and they were always quick to see through shams and detect insincerity. They were proud, vain, arrogant, boastful; yet chivalrous, polite, and amenable to reason. Warriors and athletes, they were nevertheless slow to begin the fight. Their caution had to be overcome by songs and flights of oratory calculated to inflame the passions; and they rushed to battle only when they had excited themselves to frenzy, and when they had exhausted upon their enemies all the scurrilous epithets and insulting references their language was capable of conveying. They forgot easily; even an insult passed out of their minds as soon as it was avenged—but not till then. Their

feelings were easily stirred, like those of children: mood succeeded mood with astonishing rapidity; tears flowed at pleasure and did not always denote depth of feeling. There is something of the Celt in the Maoris; a sensitive quality which makes them singers of songs and orators capable of playing at will upon the emotions of their countrymen. Their virtues were bravery, dignity of manner, courtesy, hospitality, command of temper; their vices were those of a tropical people, indolence, cruelty, want of cleanliness, and sensuality.

From the first the Maoris of New Zealand were divided into nations and tribes; the original chieftains being the leaders of the emigrant canoes. No iron system of caste existed as in India; but the Maori tribe had its well defined classes. At the head of all the *ariki* or priest and chief, the two being usually combined; then came the *tana*, the royal family, the *rangatira*, nobles, the *tutua*, the middle class, the *ware*, the lower class, and last of all the *tourakareka*, the slaves.

The chiefs were by no means despotic. Although their persons were sacred and hedged about with a sort of divinity, they had frequently to bow to the force of public opinion. They could not declare peace or war without the consent of the majority of the tribe, and every freeman had the right of voicing his opinion in the assemblies. Many chiefs, it is true, claimed to be more than men. "Think not that I am a man," said Te Heu Heu, "that my origin is of earth. I come from the heavens: my ancestors are all there: they are gods and I shall return to them." But it frequently happened that they were surpassed in war and in the arts of peace by some less high-born follower; and this eminence of a sub-

ject was never regarded as an affront. It would thus appear that the Maoris were aristocratic in their social relations, and democratic in politics.

The Maori tribe was a commune organised for peace or war. Its communal character escaped the notice of the early settlers, who were extremely puzzled to understand the nature of Maori customs and especially their land laws. It was plain, however, that the natives clung tenaciously to their land and were only tempted to part with it to obtain tobacco, powder and muskets, which latter were essential to success in all their later wars. There was no individual ownership in the English sense. When an individual cleared a patch of forest and cultivated it, it was recognised as his property; but he had no right to sell without the permission of the tribe. The land was the property of the tribe and none of it could be disposed of without the sanction of the tribe. In the land-sharking days and afterwards, ignorance of this principle led to serious conflicts. Individual Maoris, sometimes in ignorance and sometimes with intent to cheat the pakeha, took payment for pieces of land, but it frequently happened that the tribe, with perfect justice from the Maori point of view, declined to recognise the transaction.

The Maoris had no desire to accumulate wealth or property. A large catch of fish was valued merely because it permitted a lavish hospitality. So in other matters it was deemed a disgrace to possess riches except for the purpose of squandering it. The father did not accumulate for the spending of the son: his weapons of war, whatever belongings he set most store by, were interred with his bones. Under these circumstances and in a country where food was obtainable at a moderate expenditure of

labour, there were no glaring inequalities of social condition. None were rich and none were absolutely destitute. Even the lazy man whose "throat was deep" could get himself fed, and the feeble or unfortunate were able to share in the results of the fishing or snaring.

Internal government and the regulation of private conduct were dependent on public opinion as expressed in the assemblies, on certain well defined customs of old standing, and upon the *tapu* which constituted a civil and religious code perhaps the most remarkable ever evolved by any race. As previously mentioned every freeman was permitted to express his opinion on matters of peace or war, so that the policy of a tribe was largely at the mercy of the "democratic vote." Certain principles of conduct and justice were tacitly accepted by all the tribes. If an injury was done by one member of a tribe to another, compensation was exacted from the offender; if, however, the injury were done to an individual in another tribe, it was resented and punished by the whole tribe to which the victim belonged. Offences had usually a corresponding compensation, on the principle of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

In large matters of public interest the Maori orator was a great power. A persuasive tongue and a knowledge of the rules which regulated the composition of the "classical" Maori oration, were prized exceedingly. Harangues were made up, for the most part, of quotations from old poetry and of elaborate metaphors, which at first seemed to have little connection with the subject in hand. The orator delighted in mystery, in suspense, in surprise, and developed his meaning with a sedulous slowness

that was infinitely tedious to white listeners. As a general rule, indeed, the Maori is loquacious and round-about. He dances about a subject, plays with it as a cat plays with a mouse, retarding as long as he can the conclusion of the matter. As he spoke the orator of olden days walked to and fro between fixed points gesticulating and brandishing weapons.

The *tapu* was the Maori decalogue. It was a strange mixture of seemingly useless superstitions and common-sense maxims. Its authority was based on a combination of religion and custom, and on the whole it was an institution which exercised a salutary influence over savage minds. The word *tapu* means sacred and appears to be the same as the Hindoo *tabout,* which means a coffin, or the ark of the covenant of God. By the laws of *tapu* certain things were always sacred. Among these may be mentioned the bodies of chiefs and priests, who alone could render other objects *tapu:* human flesh, dead bodies and all that touched corpses; persons planting the kumera; the first kumeras of the season and the first fish. Other objects might be temporarily declared tapu. For example, trees suitable for canoes, rivers, roads, fishing grounds, anything, in fact, which it was desirable to protect. Such objects were marked by a curious wooden image, smeared with red earth, by a tuft of human hair, or by a piece of an old mat.

Some of the results of this institution were singular and amusing. Because priests and chiefs possessed the magic touch, they were precluded from work in the fields, and had to be fed by slaves, since to touch food with their fingers would render it *tapu.* Poor persons, who had been tapued, were under the necessity of eating their food like dogs.

Violations of tapu were punished both by gods and men, and led to intertribal wars as well as to many of the early conflicts with the settlers.

A still more singular set of customs was covered by the term *muru* (literally plunder). By virtue of this, certain offences were punished by raiding the offender, the leader of the raiding party usually compelling him to fight a duel. The most curious features of it were, first, that the offender regarded his punishment as a polite attention and, secondly, that accidents were treated in the same way as premeditated offences. If a man's child fell into a fire, if his canoe was upset, if the wind spread his fire too far, the *hapus* to which he belonged were entitled to demand satisfaction from him. Generally he was informed beforehand, and prepared a feast for his tormentors, who might spear or club him, in addition to carrying off most of his property. Needless to say, white men were sorely puzzled by the usages of *muru*, and in their own cases regarded its infliction as flagrant robbery.

War was the occupation and pastime of the Maoris. They loved it for its own sake, and conducted it, according to their lights, in the most chivalrous manner. As instances of this chivalry and passion for fighting, no apology need be made for quoting from *Old New Zealand* the following stories: A Maori chief who had fought against us in the Waikato war on being asked why, when he had command of a certain road, he did not attack the ammunition and provision trains, replied in astonishment, "Why, you fool! if we had stolen their powder and food, how could they have fought?" So fond were they of the sport that "sometimes two villages would get up a little war, and the in-

habitants, after potting at each other all day, would come out of their 'pas' in the evening and talk over their day's sport in the most friendly manner. 'I nearly bagged your brother to-day.' 'Ah, but you should have seen how I made your old father-in-law skip!' and so on."

Their weapons, until muskets became the fashion, were chiefly spears, greenstone meres, and clubs. For attacks by sea, they constructed canoes of kauri and totara, which often measured eighty feet in length, and were adorned with artistically carved figure-heads and stern-posts, the latter being often fifteen feet high. Some of these canoes carried as many as a hundred warriors. The department of war in which they were most skilled, however, was the building of pas or entrenched stockades, some of which will be described in later chapters. Victories were usually, in the good old days, celebrated by cannibal orgies such as shocked and terrified Europeans. The heads of the victims were stuck up on the fences of the pa as butts for the braves to jeer at.

In times of peace the tribes were occupied in various industries; in fishing, tilling, making weapons and canoes, in mat making, which latter was strictly woman's work. The principal articles of food were fish, fern-root, taros, kumeras, dogs and various berries. Potatoes and maize were eaten in a putrid condition. Fern-root was to the Maoris what tea is to the Japanese: they chanted songs in its praise and pined for it in exile.

"What shall be our food?" sang the maiden who laid a basket of cooked fern-root before the visitor. "Shell-fish and fern-root. That is the root of the earth; that is the food to satisfy a man; the tongue grows rough from the licking of it, like the tongue

of a dog." Their manner of cooking was interesting. After scooping out a hole about three feet wide, they filled it with faggots, upon which they laid a number of round stones, which, on the burning of the faggots, sank into the ashes. Thereupon the cook, nearly always a woman, swept the charcoal away, sprinkled water upon the stones and covered them with a layer of leaves, upon which she placed the articles to be cooked, covering the whole with mats so as to prevent the escape of heat.

The huts in which the common sort lived, were little more than dog kennels, evil-smelling and indescribably dirty. For the most part they were made of grass or rushes lashed to a wooden framework, portions of which were often elaborately carved. In front there was usually a small verandah, made of reeds and slabs. Each hut contained a fireplace excavated in the floor, and during winter when the doors were shut and all the occupants smoking assiduously, the heat was stifling.

Life in times of peace was not severe. In the interval of tilling, fishing, snaring birds, or grinding the greenstone into meres—a work that took years and years—there was ample time for amusements and games, of which the Maoris were, and are, passionately fond. Among their pastimes were singing, dancing, wrestling, swimming, racing and throwing the spear. Peace and war, therefore, combined to make the Maori an athlete.

The mythology of the Maoris is instinct with poetry. In the beginning, so ran the tale, was Te Kore or Nothingness, and after the lapse of ages came light and life. Rangi, the Heaven, and Papa, the Earth, the fountain and source of all things, were in ancient days locked in each other's embrace,

and their children dwelt in darkness. At length these children took counsel together, and determined to rend their parents asunder, so that light might come to them; and one after one essayed the task in vain, until Tane, the god of forests and birds, planting his head on Mother Earth and raising his feet against his father the Heaven, by fierce thrusting, rent them apart, so that the darkness and light were made manifest. Tawhiri-ma-tea, the god of wind and storms, opposed the impiety of his brethren, and following his father to the realms above, sent forth, and continues to send forth, cloud and tempest, snapping the trees of the forest and lashing the ocean into foam in his wrath. "The vast Heaven has still ever remained separated from his spouse the Earth. Yet their mutual love continues—the soft warm sighs of her loving bosom still ever rise up to him, ascending from the woody mountains and valleys, and men call them mists; and the vast Heaven, as he mourns through the long nights his separation from his beloved, drops frequent tears upon her bosom, and men, seeing these, term them dew-drops." *

As yet man had not appeared: the Earth was tenanted by a race of demi-gods of whom Maui was the most famous in song and legend. In the stories which relate his exploits we first come across the Maori theory of an upper and lower world. In the upper world dwelt Rehua, the Aged One, the Lord of Kindness, who was pictured with flowing locks, and who darted lightning from his arm-pits. One of Maui's exploits was a descent to the lower world in quest of his father. His mother used to visit her

* Grey's *Polynesian Mythology.*

children on earth every night, but always departed before the dawn, no one knew whither. One night when she slept, Maui closed up every chink in the dwelling so that no light could enter, and his mother Taranga only awoke when the sun was high in the heavens. With a shriek she fled from the house, and Maui, following, saw her raise a tuft of grass and descend through an opening beneath it. Changing himself by magic into a pigeon, he sped through long caverns after her, until he came to an open space where, under a grove of manapau trees, sat his mother and father, with other dwellers of the under world. He perched upon one of the trees and pecking off some berries, cast them down upon his parents; whereat the people below, discovering the pigeon, began to pelt it with stones, and a stone aimed by his father brought Maui wounded and fluttering to the ground. When they ran to catch him, he turned into a man, with fierce glaring eyes. Explanations followed, and Maui was acknowledged by his father, who took him to the water and baptised him, and said prayers over him to make him sacred; but some part of the ceremony was omitted, and the gods punished this carelessness by rendering Maui subject to Death, the Lady of Night.

The denizens of the upper world sometimes cast eyes of love upon the children of men, who in due course appeared on the earth; and some of these "loves of the angels" are told with an imaginative daring hardly surpassed in the legends of the East. Thus, one of the heavenly maidens, hearing of the fame and beauty of the hero Tawhaki, came night after night to gaze upon him whilst he slept, and at length out of the depth of her love for him forsook her home in the skies. A daughter was born to them.

Shortly after its birth Tawhaki, under some evil inspiration, spoke slightingly of the child, and the mother, taking it in her arms, fled up to the sky. Smitten with remorse, the hero cried, "Mother of my child! return once more to me."

"No, no," came the reply, "I shall never return to you."

"At least, then, leave me some token of remembrance."

"My parting words," she answered, "are, Lay fast hold on that creeper which, hanging down from on high, has again struck its fibres into the earth."

With that he saw her no more. Torn with anguish for the loss of wife and child, the hero, accompanied by his brother, roved over the world, until he came to the Face of Night, an ancient woman, who was the keeper of the tendrils that hung down from the sky. And when they had got from her the information they sought, Tawhaki's brother seized a tendril and would have climbed to heaven, but unfortunately the tendril had not taken root, and he was swung by a blast of wind from horizon to horizon until his grasp loosened and he fell to earth. Tawhaki was more successful, and by aid of incantations taught him by the Face of Night, reached the Heaven and was reconciled to his celestial wife.

The Maoris believed in a future life, but they make no mention of the resurrection of the body. There were two abodes for the spirits of the dead: Rangi, in the sky, and Te Reinga, in the midst of the sea. To the former went the souls of chiefs and priests, those who traced their descent from heroes and demigods. The souls of common men were doomed to an eternity of darkness in Reinga, the

road to which lay by way of *Muri Whenua*, the northern Land's End of New Zealand, where the shades slid down the roots of a *pohutu-kawa* tree to caverns that led to the underworld, where Ruhé, a female Charon, ferried them across the Maori Styx. There were no punishments in these other worlds, and the shades retained the same rank which they had held on earth. The evil that men did received punishment during life, Wiro, the Maori Lucifer, and Taniwhi, a monstrous lizard, as well as numerous sorcerers being the chief agents of retribution. The gods never visited the earth, but the spirits of dead ancestors often entered into the bodies of men, lizards, spiders, birds, or flitted about as invisible fairies.

Without a written language, until the missionaries came, the Maoris could, as their mythology would be sufficient to show, boast of a literature and a remarkable accumulation of knowledge on a variety of subjects. Legends of the origin of things, of gods, and heroes, were transmitted with the utmost care from generation to generation, the *tohungas* or wise men being responsible for their safe-keeping. In every tribe classes were held during the winter in the *Whare-kura* or Red House. Instruction was given in the ancient legends and incantations of the race; in the rules of *tapu*, in the treatment of diseases; in agriculture and in all useful arts. The most promising pupils were usually drafted into the ranks of the tohungas. The common belief that a mistake in teaching would be attended by evil consequences made these Maori professors scrupulously careful as to the accuracy of their instruction. Their memories were trained to a degree unheard of among white men. A missionary mentions the case

of a young chief, who, after once hearing a poem of about fifty lines, was able to repeat it without a mistake, and similar feats of memory were quite common. "You white men," said another chief, "keep your knowledge on your book shelves; we keep it all in our memories."

Their literature consists of legends of gods and demigods, stories of ancestors, and poems. Of their legends some examples have been given already. The well-known story of Hinemoa belongs to a different class, and is not unworthy to be compared with the classical story of Hero and Leander. Hinemoa, a beautiful maiden of high rank, who dwelt on the shore of Lake Rotorua, and Tutanekai, who lived on the island of Mokoia, had fallen in love with each other; but the course of true love did not run smooth, for the parents and friends of the girl prized her so much that they would not betroth her to any chief. Tutanekai built a balcony on his island and every night serenaded his lady-love with music of horn and pipe, and the sounds of the music, wafted across the lake, so touched the heart of the maiden, that one dark night she stole from her home to the water's edge, and there throwing off her clothes, cast herself into the water and swam bravely for the island. Near the spot at which she landed was a hot spring. "Hinemoa got into this to warm herself, for she was trembling all over, partly from the cold, after swimming across the wide lake of Rotorua, and partly also, perhaps from modesty, at the thoughts of meeting Tutanekai." Whilst the maiden was thus warming herself, a slave came to get water from the spring for his master. She was frightened and called out in a gruff voice like that of a man: "Whom is that for?" The slave replied: "It's

for Tutanekai." "Give it here, then," said Hinemoa. He did so, and when she had finished drinking, she purposely threw down the calabash and broke it. The slave returned with another calabash, and when he had filled it, the unseen maiden again asked for a drink, and her request being complied with, she broke the calabash as before. This took place repeatedly, until at last, Tutanekai, in a fit of rage, rushed down to the spring and shouted "Where is that fellow who broke my calabash?" And Hinemoa knew the voice, that the sound of it was that of the beloved of her heart; and she hid herself under the overhanging rocks of the hot spring; but her hiding was hardly a real thing, but rather a bashful concealing of herself from Tutanekai, that he might not find her at once, but only after trouble and careful searching for her. So he went feeling about along the banks of the hot spring, searching everywhere, whilst she lay coyly hid under the ledges of the rock, wondering when she would be found. At last he caught hold of a hand, and cried out "Holloa, who's this?" and Hinemoa answered,

"It's I, Tutanekai."

"But who are you? who's I?"

Then she spoke louder and said,

"It's I; 'tis Hinemoa."

And he said,

"Ho! ho! ho! can such in very truth be the case? Let us two then go to my house."

And she answered "Yes"; and she rose up in the water as beautiful as the wild white hawk, and stepped upon the edge of the bath as graceful as the shy white crane; and he threw garments over her, and took her, and they proceeded to his house, and reposed there; and thenceforth, according to

the ancient laws of the Maori, they were man and wife.*

For delicacy and simple grace it would be difficult, outside of the legends of Ancient Greece, to match the story of Hinemoa.

In addition to love stories, the Maoris had many tales of fairies, of magic and sorcery, of the monsters that inhabited seas and caves, and of giants who strode from mountain to mountain, and could swallow rivers, and turn themselves into anything they pleased. Some of these are full of interest and show that the Maoris possessed more imagination and fancy than is usually credited to savage races; but some are tedious and overburdened with trivial details and circumstances. Maori fables, which take the form of conversations between animals, are comparatively dull and pointless, though enthusiasts have likened them to Æsop.

Of their poetry Mr. Colenso writes thus: "The people frequently beguiled the monotonous drudgery of some of their heavier work, performed together in company, by songs with suitable choruses. Such songs were sung when dragging or paddling their canoes, or digging in their cultivations. Their war songs and defiances contain horrible curses, and breathe a spirit of ferocity, while their love songs are full of the tenderest feeling, expressed sometimes in the most touching and beautiful language. Their sentimental songs, expressive of abandonment, loneliness, and despair, contain much pathos, and, sung as they always were, in a minor key, were often very affecting." The language is full of imagery, often appropriate and striking, suggested by natural

* Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*.

forces and scenes. The Maori, like the North American Indian, had keen eyes, and his poetic instinct enabled him to find symbols for his thought and feeling in the passing cloud and the gushing stream spring, in the life of the forest, and the wide sweep of the seas. Nor were his metaphors always obvious; on the contrary, many of them betokened close observation as well as a true perception of beauty. The worst features of Maori poetry are the savage cruelty reflected in the war songs, and the lasciviousness that is paraded unblushingly in many of their love songs.

No feature of Maori civilisation has attracted more attention of late than their art, as shown in elaborate wood-carvings on canoe prows and stern-posts, on weapons, lintels of doors, and in the grotesquely beautiful curves and spirals tattooed on their faces and bodies. There were among them great masters, decorators and carvers, specimens of whose work excite the admiration of connoisseurs. To achieve these results they had only the simplest tools, an immense stock of patience, and a genuine feeling for beauty of line. For tattooing they had a stick (about eighteen inches long) used as a mallet, and a lance-shaped instrument made of hard wood, of bone, or shell. The process was so painful that only small portions could be done at a time, the patient being diverted by the singing of songs:

> Be not impatient to go to the girl
> That gathers you sweet greens
> In baskets of kowhara.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Let our songs kill the pain,
> And inspire thee with fortitude,
> O Hiki Hangaroa! O Hiki Hangaroa!

CHAPTER IV.

THE COMING OF THE WHITE MAN.

SEVERAL European countries contend for the honour of having discovered New Zealand. French writers claim that De Gonneville visited the islands in 1504, and that he brought back with him a native who afterwards married into the family of the *voyageur*. A similar claim is made on behalf of Juan Fernandez, a Spanish sailor of the sixteenth century. Starting in 1576 from South America, he lighted a month's sail from America upon a pleasant land inhabited by brown men, who clothed themselves in garments of woven cloth. There are also traditions that Spanish ships visited New Zealand and that they left pigs and dogs. Enthusiasts, moreover, trace certain Maori words to Spanish sources.

These surmises may be entertaining, but they still remain surmises. New Zealand did not exist for Europe until Tasman's famous voyage in 1642, and for many a year afterwards few were aware of the results of his voyage. Leaving Batavia in September of the year 1642, Tasman discovered Tasmania, called by him Van Diemen's Land, and then directed his course to the east until his progress was barred by a long line of coast, with snow-capped mountains in the background. Sailing north, he rounded Cape Farewell and brought his two ships to anchor in a bay adjoining that on which now stands the beautiful town of Nelson. Two double war-canoes filled

with dusky warriors came out to inspect these white-winged apparitions of the sea. They kept at a distance, however, their crews making at intervals a noise like the blowing of trumpets. On the following day a canoe manned by thirteen natives came within hail, but no inducements could allure its occupants on board; it was only when other canoes arrived that some of the natives mustered up courage to scramble on board the *Heemskirk*. Tasman, fearing treachery, despatched a boat to tell the captain of the *Heemskirk* to be on his guard, a move evidently regarded by the Maoris with suspicion. They were observed to signal to each other and immediately afterwards several of the canoes made a dash at the boat, and, in the melée which followed, three sailors were killed and a fourth wounded. Tasman lost no time in weighing anchor, but he was scarcely under sail when a flotilla of twenty-two war canoes put out and compelled him to fire a broadside, which killed one native and terrified the remainder. Whatever desire he may have had to explore the country was abandoned and, crowding canvas, the Dutch navigator left Massacre Bay behind him. Unaware of the presence of a strait, he coasted along the north island, his sole desire apparently being to find a passage by which he might escape to the east. On rounding North Cape he thought of landing at Three Kings to procure a supply of fresh water, but the sight of "thirty-five large natives, taking prodigious strides, with clubs in their hands" so terrified him that he sheered off and showed a clean pair of heels.

Nothing came of Tasman's voyage. Maori legends relate that a European ship visited the North Island about 1740 and that she was plundered and her crew killed and eaten. New Zealand, however, ceased to

be a *Terra Incognita* only with the arrival of Cook, who landed at Tauranga in October 1769. Thence he sailed northwards following the coast to Taranaki, after which he crossed the strait, now named Cook's Strait, or more picturesquely the "windpipe of the Pacific," and entered Queen Charlotte Sound, afterwards completing the circumnavigation of the North Island and finally of the South Island.

Cook endeavoured during this visit, in a somewhat blundering way, it must be confessed, to establish friendly relations with the natives. He was entirely ignorant of their customs, and though himself a humane man, he fell too readily into the "blood and iron" way of dealing with savages. On nearly every occasion of his landing mutual suspicion and misunderstanding led to brawls and the spilling of Maori blood. To the natives the *Endeavour* seemed a mighty bird; Cook and his men they regarded as gods armed with thunder and lightning; but for all that they had no mind to cringe; on the contrary, they faced the strangers and their thunder with singular courage and boldness.

It would take up too much space to describe at length Cook's four visits to New Zealand, in the course of which he surveyed the coasts of both islands; it will be sufficient to give a few of the more characteristic incidents.

At Tauranga he saw for the first time a palisaded pa. Later on, at Mercury Bay, he visited one of these strongholds, of which he says that the "best engineer in Europe could not have chosen a better site," and that its construction showed much ingenuity and must have involved immense labour. Wishing to speak to the natives assembled on the beach and the banks of the river at Tauranga, he

landed from the yawl, but they ran into the bush at his approach. Shortly afterwards, however, a party of them rushed out and attacked the boys who had been left in charge of the boat. The boys dropped down the stream, and as the natives still pursued, the coxswain fired some shots over their heads, but this having only stopped their progress for a moment, he fired again and killed one of them, whereupon the rest fled. Next day another attempt was made to establish friendly intercourse. With the assistance of a native of Tahiti, Cook was able to hold some talk with them, and after a time they approached the group of white men. Presents were given them, but they seemed most of all to covet the weapons of the visitors, and one of them having snatched an officer's hanger, was fired at and wounded so that he died shortly afterward. On the third day the ship's people waylaid some Maoris in a canoe, and when these would have escaped, fired over their heads to bring them to. In desperation, however, they showed fight, and then Cook deemed it necessary to kill two or three of them. Three Maori boys who took the water were captured and carried to the ship, where being well fed and otherwise well treated, they became as "cheerful and merry as if they had been with their own friends." These were strange ways of making friends, and the great navigator makes some apology for what he fears may be regarded as inhumanity.

Among the Maoris who were present when Cook arrived at Mercury Bay was a boy eight years old, by name Hore-ta-te-Taniwha, who in 1853 gave to Colonel Wynyard an account, from the Maori point of view, of the visit of the white men. When they first beheld the vessel, the old men of the tribe said

it was a *tupua* or god; and when they saw the manner in which the sailors came ashore, rowing with their backs to the bows of the boat, they said, "Yes, it is so; these people are goblins: their eyes are at the back of their head." When the goblins landed, Taniwha and other children ran into the bush, only the warriors, as became their bravery, holding their ground; but as no evil befell them, the children came back and even ventured to touch the garments of the strange beings. Then the goblins, after gathering oysters, went into the forest and climbed the hill to the pa. Some of them carried walking-sticks, and when they arrived at the dead tree on which shags roost at night, they lifted the walking-sticks, and pointed them at the birds, and in a short time thunder was heard to crash and a flash of lightning was seen, and a shag fell. In terror the children ran away, but the goblins laughed and waved their hands, and the children plucked up courage again. Taniwha and some of the bravest of them went on board the ship. There was a supreme man there. They knew that he was lord by his perfectly gentlemanly and noble demeanour, and by his kindness to the children, for he patted their cheeks and gently touched their hands, and gave Taniwha a nail. He also made a speech, which the Maoris, of course, did not understand, and made marks on the deck with a piece of charcoal; whereat an aged Maori said, "He is asking for an outline of this land," and taking the charcoal, drew on the deck an outline of Te Ika a Maui.

During the visit a Maori was killed by the goblins. His death happened on this wise. Nine persons had gone to the ship to barter mats and fish, and one of them was a noted thief. Whilst they lay

alongside the vessel the goblin who collected shells, flowers and stones, held up the end of a garment which he would give in exchange for the dogskin mat belonging to the thief. A great length having been unwound, the goblin cut it off, but the thief rolled it up and still keeping the dogskin mat, bade his comrades paddle to the shore. They did as he told them, and thereupon the goblin went below and returned with a walking-stick, which he pointed at the canoe. Thunder pealed and lightning flashed, but those in the canoe paddled on. When they reached land, eight men rose, but the thief sat with the dogskin mat and the garment of the goblin under his feet. His companions called to him, but he gave no answer; and when one of them shook him, he fell back into the hold of the canoe, and blood was seen on his clothing and a hole in his back. They bore the body to the settlement, where a meeting was called to consult on the matter, at which his companions told the tale of the theft of the goblin's garment; and the people said, "He was the cause of his own death, and it will not be right to avenge him." So they buried the thief and with him the stolen garment, and after that they traded as before with the goblin's ship.

This story is remarkable not only for its quaint fancy, but also for its fidelity to facts. It is another proof of the singular power of memory possessed by the Maoris.

At the very time when Cook, at the close of his first visit to New Zealand, was sailing out of Doubtless Bay, De Surville, in the *St. Jean Baptiste,* was working into it. Then and for many years to come French navigators were active in the South Seas. Deprived of Canada and most of her possessions in

India, France was not unnaturally eager to discover fresh territory for colonial expansion, and the rivalry between her and England in the Pacific forms a very interesting chapter in Australasian history. De Surville, it is said, had been attracted to New Zealand by the singular report that England had discovered there an island of gold. He was received by the natives at Mongonui with the utmost friendship, but an unfortunate incident, in which the French were to blame, occurred to disturb the harmony which prevailed. Some invalids who had been well treated on shore by the natives, were returning to the ship, when a storm arose and compelled them to put back. A native chief furnished them with shelter and food, and in every way played the good Samaritan to them. Unhappily, during the storm, De Surville had lost a boat, and concluding, on very slender evidence, that the natives had stolen it, he allured the hospitable chief on board and there put him in irons; after which he burned the native village and sailed away with his prisoner, who soon died of home-sickness. De Surville himself, the indignant moralist will be glad to learn, survived the death of his victim but eleven days, being drowned in the surf at Callao.

For this treachery the Maoris in 1772 took an ample revenge. In that year Marion du Fresne anchored with two ships in the Bay of Islands, which is within easy distance of Mongonui. A number of the crew who were suffering from scurvy and other diseases which attacked sailors on the long voyages of the last century, were landed and treated by the natives with marked, almost suspiciously marked, kindness. The Maoris brought them fish and kumeras, and in return were given many presents by

the Frenchmen. The utmost good fellowship prevailed and Marion, apparently dazzled by Maori hospitality, relaxed the discipline of the crews so much that Crozet, his second in command, took occasion to remonstrate. His warning fell on deaf ears. The captain was intoxicated by the honours paid to him by the natives, who decorated his head with feathers and otherwise played upon his vanity. There came a day, however, when this happy idyll was shivered like a piece of glass. Marion, accompanied by sixteen officers and several of his crew, went ashore, at the invitation of a hospitable chief, for a day's fishing at Manawaroa Bay. They did not return that evening, but no alarm seems to have been felt. On the following day a boat containing twelve men was sent ashore to procure fresh water and food; and a few hours later one of these men swam off to the vessel and related how his comrades had been fallen upon by the natives and literally made meat of. A message was immediately sent to Crozet, who, with sixty men, was felling a kauri pine some distance inland. Keeping his own counsel, Crozet quietly withdrew his men to the shore where crowds of natives assembled, shouting that Marion had been killed and eaten. No attack was made, for Crozet drawing a line on the sand with his musket, threatened to shoot the first native who crossed. Once safely on board, he prepared to avenge the massacre. Volley after volley was poured with deadly effect into a dense body of natives gathered on the beach; and next day a landing party destroyed a native village with many of its inhabitants. Marion's fate was soon learned. The "friendly" chief was found wearing the captain's mantle, and baskets of human flesh were discovered

in the village. Crozet exacted a bloody revenge and departed with bitter memories of Maori treachery. "They treated us," he says, "with every show of friendship for thirty-three days, with the intention of eating us on the thirty-fourth." He asserts that his countrymen gave no cause of offence; but Maori accounts give a different complexion to the matter. The natives accused their visitors of outraging their sacred places, making fire with tapued wood, and maltreating their chiefs—unpardonable crimes to the Maori way of thinking. The mysterious laws of *tapu*, at first incomprehensible to Europeans, were to prove a frequent cause of blood-letting in the after history of New Zealand.

During Cook's second visit a somewhat similar incident occurred when he was anchored in Queen Charlotte Sound. A native offered to sell a hatchet to a sailor, and the sailor after getting possession of it refused to pay for it or give it back. The native, in accordance with Maori law and custom and in order to make things equal, seized some bread and fish belonging to the sailors, whereupon a fracas arose, in which two natives were shot and the boat's crew murdered.

Cook during his four visits made remarkably accurate surveys of the coast. In spite of the readiness with which he shot offenders, he is still remembered by the Maoris as a benefactor, for it was from him they derived their pigs and potatoes, which soon became the chief articles of food among them, and at the beginning of the century enabled them to carry on a considerable trade with whalers, sealers, and other European visitors.

The voyages of Cook, De Surville and others created great interest in Europe. Their narratives were

read with avidity by a generation that had learned from Rousseau to pay a sentimental homage to the noble savage, who was alleged to possess all the virtues and few of the vices of civilisation. The cannibalism of the Maori added but relish to the interest. His superior intellectual qualities, his contempt for the baubles usually given to savages, his hankering after nails, iron fish-hooks and other useful tools, placed him on a pedestal far above other savage races with which Europe was acquainted.

CHAPTER V.

NEW ZEALAND BETWEEN 1800 AND 1840.

PIONEERS.

For some years after Cook's visits New Zealand was left severely alone. The Maori reputation for cannibalism and general ferocity acted as a powerful deterrent. Ships on distant voyages came and went, but most of them gave the islands a wide berth: if they landed, it was with fear and trembling. Even the horrors of scurvy were scarcely sufficient to persuade a ship's crew to land for a much needed supply of fresh water and vegetables. D'Entrecasteaux, it is said, arriving in New Zealand waters in 1793, was afraid to go close to the shore, although the natives were friendly and anxious to trade, following his ship with mats for barter.

After the founding of New South Wales, however, visitors to New Zealand became more numerous. In the year 1793 an event happened which drew the attention of people in Sydney to the possibilities of trade with the Maoris. The Norfolk Islanders attempted to utilise the flax which grew in the island for the manufacture of mats, bags, and other articles; but their workmanship was so inferior to that of the Maori that it was determined to secure a Maori instructor. For this purpose a vessel was despatched to the Bay of Islands on what was practically a "black-birding" cruise. Two

natives of rank were kidnapped in a discreditable manner, and carried off to Norfolk Island, where, however, they refused to give any instruction in an industry which, they truthfully said, was woman's work, and therefore beneath their dignity. After pining for six months in useless exile, they found a friend in Lieutenant-Governor King, who ordered them to be taken back to New Zealand and presented them with a dozen pigs, some maize, and other seeds. King visited the Bay of Islands in 1793, and recommended New Zealand as a good field for the enterprise of Sydney merchants; and there were in Sydney at that time plenty of adventurous spirits ready to engage in traffic with a country which had all the allurements of a No Man's Land.

The pioneers were chiefly whalers who landed to procure spars and masts for their ships or took refuge from storms in various inlets, where their presence encouraged a sort of trade with the Maoris. The coasts abounded in seals and it was soon found that many of the inlets were breeding-grounds of whales. The first decade of the nineteenth century saw a great expansion in whaling, sealing, and general traffic with the Maoris. The principal resorts were Queen Charlotte Sound, Dusky Bay, Banks' Peninsula, Poverty Bay, Hawkes Bay, Bay of Plenty, and the Bay of Islands. At a later date various stations were formed on the coast of what is now known as Otago. The Maoris of the South Island received the new-comers with open arms, and many of them became expert whalers and sailors; but for some years the natives of the North Island were distrustful of white traders. It was not till they conceived a burning desire to possess the white man's weapons that their distrust gave place to an

equally strong desire to cultivate friendly trading relations.

During this period (1800 to 1840) there were three classes of more or less permanent settlers: (1) the sealers and the "hands" employed at the various whaling stations, (2) the missionaries who confined their labours chiefly to the northern portion of the North Island, and (3) a vagabond class, consisting of runaway sailors, escaped convicts from New South Wales, and here and there a "gentleman ranker" who had flung off the restraints of civilisation for a freer life under the greenwood tree.

The occupants of the whaling and sealing stations lived a monotonous existence, exiles from more civilised resorts, and bond-slaves to the merchants, who employed them and paid for their labours in rum, slops, and tobacco. These merchants, hailing mostly from Sydney, made for years great profits out of the whaling industry. The wages of the station hands cost them very little, the rum and tobacco being of the vilest and cheapest, although their nominal price to the whalers was high; and once the men were landed at the settlement there was little chance of their being able to escape. Being paid in kind, they were always penniless, most of them, indeed, were in a chronic state of indebtedness to their employers. During the season, May until October, life on the station was full of bustle. Some were engaged in killing the whales and others occupied in preserving the oil—no dainty business. The try-works consisted of large iron boilers in which the blubber, cut into manageable lumps, was boiled. It was a curious scene—a whaling settlement in the busy time, when "Sunday never came out into the bay." Muscular, unshaven white men, reeking of

oil, aided by brown men, in every conceivable type of dress, kept the furnaces going with wood and scrag, or cut slabs of blubber from carcasses of whales raised out of the water by means of sheers, or headed casks of oil and rolled them to the storehouse to await the arrival of vessels from Sydney. The ground was saturated with oil and the stench was indescribable; but these burly, half-savage whalers were to the manner born, and throve, in spite of stench and oil and a species of rum that was death to the unseasoned.

At the end of the season vessels arrived with stores, and loaded up for the return journey with whale oil and bone. The arrival of the vessels marked pay-day for the "hands," the wages being credited to them in grog, tobacco, and clothes. Then followed a Saturnalia such as made the hearts of good missionaries shudder with horror. For weeks the settlement gave itself up to steady drinking and many an inmate of a solitary hut ended up with what he quaintly called a fit of the "horrors." These delights ended only with their credit, and then the topers awoke from their drunken sleep to find that the summer was yet before them. Some simply loafed, clay pipe always in mouth; some cultivated a patch of ground in which they grew vegetables for the use of their "dusky brood," for the great majority had Maori women for their helpmeets; whilst others, more impatient of the dreary hours, marched across country to the next station, where, if they were lucky, they might renew their potations at the expense of their hosts. There were, of course, exceptions, but their number was too small to impress missionary observers, who regarded all whalers and sealers as "agents of the devil." Happily there has

arisen a kindlier way of looking at these skirmishers of civilisation and ample justice has since been done them.

As the whalers were counted superior persons by the natives they had no difficulty in marrying into the "best families." Their wives were often the daughters of chiefs. They were proud of their white husbands, over whom they had much influence; and the manner in which they performed their wifely duties won the admiration of unprejudiced travellers. They dressed neatly in printed calico gowns and had learned, perhaps from their sailor husbands, to keep their homes clean and tidy. On the whole their influence was on the side of peace, many a drunken brawl, and many a squabble with the tribes being ended amicably through the good offices of the whalers' wives. Their half-caste children were noticeably healthy and good-looking.

Whatever were their shortcomings, the whalers were at least a manly and hospitable race. They familiarised the Maoris with European customs, taught them many useful arts, and established with them a *camaraderie* which resulted in mutual respect and did a great deal to "make straight the paths" of the future colonists. As was previously mentioned, the men of the tribes took with eagerness to the exciting occupation of whale catching, and many of them became bold and skilful seamen. Tuwhaiki, jestingly named Bloody Jack by his white friends, was a fine specimen of the Maori sailor. Dr. Shortland who met him in 1843 describes him as "a chief of a very intelligent and pleasing address," and then goes on to remark: "He spoke a little English, of which, and of his English dress, he was evidently proud. His influence over all the

natives present was decided, and appeared to be beneficially exerted for all parties. He displayed that remarkable power of memory at which I have often wondered in the New Zealander, repeating a long list of miscellaneous property, which he, Pokeni, and others, had received at different times, specifying what share each had obtained on division. Sometimes Tuwhaiki's account of goods received did not correspond with Mr. J——'s written lists of property paid: the latter, however, was always ready to admit the error to be most probably his own. Indeed, this native had so good a character for integrity, that he frequently, as we were informed, obtained on credit slops, flour, and rum, in large quantities, which he retailed both to his own countrymen and to the whalers. We were much amused at the pride the whalers evidently took in him. He was both their patron and their protégé; and was appealed to as evidence of what they had done towards civilising the New Zealanders."

In the palmy days of whaling in New Zealand some of the whaling stations grew into large hamlets. Te Awa-iti in Queen Charlotte Sound contained in 1839 thirty houses, and Jerningham Wakefield calculates that at that time there must have been in the South Island quite 500 white men engaged in the industry. In some cases their dwelling places were made of sawn timber, but as a general rule they were "built of reeds and rushes over wooden frames, with two square holes furnished with shutters for windows. One side of the hut was provided with a huge chimney, and the other with sleeping-bunks. In the centre of the room stood a deal table with long benches; from the rafters hung coils of ropes, oars, masts, harpoons, and a tin oil lamp. Piled up in

the corner were casks of meat and tobacco; suspended against the wall were muskets and pistols; in the chimney hung hams, fish, and bacon: around the fire lay dogs, half caste children, and natives, relatives of the whaler's wife." *

In the North there was springing up in the Bay of Islands a settlement of a very different character. The bay with its noble and beautiful harbour had early in the century become a resort of whaling ships in quest of Kauri pine for masts, and of fresh water, potatoes and pigs, of which there was an abundant supply. About 1825 a few Europeans settled permanently there and five years later a grog-shop made its appearance. Up to that time the place had been respectable; so respectable, indeed, that when a vessel containing eighty escaped convicts attempted to land, an old trader assisted by Maoris, not only compelled the band to surrender, but sent them back to Sydney, where several of the ringleaders were hanged. After 1830, however, Kororareka, as the settlement was called, became the Alsatia of the South Pacific. The population rapidly increased until in 1838 it was estimated to contain 1000 inhabitants. Ships thronged the harbour; and on shore grog-shanties, billiard tables, gambling hells and worse, throve on the vices and wants of their crews. The motley crowd of traders, sailors, escaped convicts, sawyers, beach-combers drank and quarrelled and fought with each other every hour of the day and night. Revelry, indeed, never ceased at Kororareka, and when Maori chiefs sought profit in pimping for the crews of sailing vessels, the place became a "hell on earth." Missionaries warned and

* Thomson's *Story of New Zealand* (1859).

protested in vain. The Governor of New South Wales had but the shadow of authority in New Zealand, and he was too distant to be able to exercise any check upon these proceedings. Things reached such a pass that the more respectable inhabitants instituted an Association for the preservation of something like law and order. For smaller offences fines were imposed, whilst graver misdemeanours, among which the refusal to pay debts was one, were visited with expulsion or tarring and feathering. One of the rules of their code was that every man should provide himself with a musket, bayonet, pistols, cutlass, and twenty rounds of ball cartridge!

Thomson gives an amusing description of a case of tarring and feathering: "The culprit, a white man, already nearly suffocated from being secured all night in a sea chest, was first denuded of his garments, then smeared thickly over with tar, and covered with the white feathery flowers of the raupo plant, for want of true feathers. He was then marched along the beach, preceded by a fife and drum playing the Rogue's March, and accompanied by drunken white men and astonished natives: then the criminal was put into a canoe with the musicians, and landed on the opposite side of the bay, beyond the Association's jurisdiction, with an assurance that his reappearance in the settlement would be followed by another tarring and feathering."

CHAPTER VI.

NEW ZEALAND BETWEEN 1800 AND 1840.

FLOTSAM AND JETSAM.

BESIDES the sealer and whaler, and the trader who came and went, there were pioneers of another class, who, from choice or necessity, cut themselves off from civilisation and threw in their lot with the Maoris. Some were just ordinary runaway sailors, some were convicts, some were men who had seen better days; not a few of them were ruffians of the first water: all of them were *vagabondes,* drifting adventurers, impatient of restraint; men to whom the old life and ways had grown savourless. Many of them simply loafed by beach and stream, steeping their senses in forgetfulness; lulled into a dreamless torpor by the fascination of some brown-eyed native woman. Others carried with them the masterful energy of their race and by force of arm and mental superiority won the respect and liking of their dusky companions.

New Zealand knew these adventurers long before the Pakeha Maori became a name or a power in the land; yet to all intents and purposes they were of the same breed. The natives were not always kind to these early landlopers. At first they regarded them as animal curiosities and a tribe was proud of its white man, just as it would have been proud of a white elephant. But there was no telling when the

novelty would wear off. When it did, the fate of the pakeha was sealed, he was either enslaved or clubbed. "A loose, straggling pakeha—a runaway from a ship, for instance, who had nothing, and was never likely to have anything—a vagrant straggler passing from place to place— was not of much account in those times. Two men of this description (runaway sailors) were hospitably entertained one night by a chief, a very particular friend of mine, who, to pay himself for his trouble and outlay, ate one of them next morning. Remember, my good reader, I don't deal in fiction. My friend ate the pakeha, sure enough, and killed him before he ate him, which was civil, for it was not always done. But then, certainly, the pakeha was a *tutua*—a nobody, a fellow not worth a spike-nail. No one knew him. He had no relations, no goods, no expectations, no anything: what could be made of him? Of what use on earth was he except to eat? But good well-to-do pakehas, traders, ship captains, labourers, or employers of labour, these were to be honoured, cherished, caressed, protected, and plucked. Plucked judiciously (the Maori is a clever fellow in his way), so that the feathers might grow." * Escapes from Botany Bay found the society of Maori gentlemen different from what they anticipated. In most cases they were glad to give themselves up to chains and justice—or what was deemed justice by our fathers.

One of the earliest of the pakehas was George Bruce, whose story is worth telling. He settled at the Bay of Islands about 1804, wedded the daughter of a chief, to whom he had been kind on a voyage

* *Old New Zealand.* By the Pakeha Maori.

from Sydney, and received a grant of land from the tribe. For several years he lived in peace among them, respected and valued as an agent between the natives and the whalers. Misfortune, however, was in store for him. The captain of an English ship induced Bruce and his wife to accompany him on a voyage to North Cape in search of gold; but failing to find any gold, this ruffian, notwithstanding his promise to land the couple at the Bay of Islands, sailed to Malacca, where he left Bruce on shore and carrying off the wife to Penang, sold her to the captain of another ship. The unhappy husband followed and having at length succeeded in recovering his wife, proceeded to Calcutta in the hope of finding there a vessel to convey him to New Zealand. They never reached their home, however, and their fate is unknown.

The adventures of Stewart, after whom Stewart's Island is named, might have been the foundation of Tennyson's *Enoch Arden*. After being for years engaged as a sealer in New Zealand, he returned to Scotland where, as he might have expected after so long an absence, he found his wife wedded to another. Less self-restrained than Enoch, he made himself known, but when his wife persisted in denying his identity, he returned, in disgust, to his Maori friends in New Zealand. A Highlander and Jacobite, he wore the tartans to the last, and died penniless at Poverty Bay, sincerely regretted by the Maoris.

It was not till the second decade that the pakeha really became important. During that period the universal desire for fire-arms developed a keen commercial spirit among all the tribes, and in prosecuting their trade they soon discovered the value of the

poor pakeha, hitherto despised or eaten. His status was changed as if by magic. From being a slave and a nobody, he suddenly became a person of distinction, an ambassador, sometimes a chieftain. The tribes vied with each other in heaping honours upon the head of the stranger, and boasted of the superior qualities of their particular pakeha. They gave him house, land, as many wives as he would from among the daughters of the chiefs, and protected him as a jewel of great price. The pakeha himself was not unhappy, notwithstanding that he was "plucked judiciously" whenever occasion offered. He liked distinction, freedom from labour, and his heart went out to his native wife and their half-caste children.

His business was to conduct the trade of the tribe, to barter native products,—pigs, potatoes, flax—for blankets, tobacco, and more especially muskets and powder. His busy season was when the potato crop was ready to be dug up and the flax to be cut. Accompanied by an escort of bearers, all loaded with "trade," he would make his way to the nearest seaport frequented by trading vessels, and there, amid scenes of barbaric feasting and carousal, dispose of his goods to his own advantage and that of his tribe. On the return of the convoy, laden with the merchandise of the white men, the pakeha was greeted with great jubilation, and still more barbaric feastings ensued.

The palmiest period of the pakeha Maori was from 1830 to 1840. After the arrival of Hobson, his influence declined rapidly, for with the advent of white settlers the Maori discovered that trade could be carried on without the use of an agent. The good old days lamented so humorously by Judge

Maning in *Old New Zealand,* passed away with the Treaty of Waitangi. Here and there by the shore of lake and on the bank of stream, the traveller might come across the lonely hut of a pakeha, fallen on evil days, and eking out a scanty living by fishing or rearing pigs. He was no longer a person of consequence, although he always enjoyed the confidence and friendship of his Maori kinsmen.

A good deal of controversy has been waged over the pakehas. The missionaries, good but somewhat narrow-minded men, had no word of praise for them. Certainly they were not saints, but rough-diamonds though most of them were, there is little doubt that the first colonists owed much to them. Their adoption into the tribes gave them opportunities of studying the intricate and puzzling customs of the Maoris such as no other white men enjoyed, and the trade which flourished under their supervision, although it had its dark side, taught the Maoris the advantage of regular industry, and inspired them with confidence in white men.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW ZEALAND BETWEEN 1800 AND 1840.

RONGOPAI—GLAD TIDINGS.

It would be difficult to overrate the value of missionary work among the Maoris, or to overpraise the courage and devotion of the pioneer missionaries. They made mistakes, it is true; their narrowness retarded colonisation, and they were often deceived as to the depth and sincerity of the native profession of faith. But even a "skin-deep" Christianity was better than the old superstitions; and when all deductions are made, it must still be admitted that the humanising of the Maori was, to a large extent, due to the introduction and spread of Christianity. It was the missionary who broke the spell of the *tapu* and gave the death-blow to infanticide and cannibalism.

The Augustine of New Zealand was the Rev. Samuel Marsden, senior chaplain of New South Wales. Originally a blacksmith, brought up among Methodists in a Yorkshire village, and educated at Cambridge, Marsden was noted from the first for his piety and singular catholicity of spirit. Neither a bigot nor a sectarian, his sympathy went out freely to men of other denominations, and he had the good sense to see that the missionary should be a civilising agent in the worldly sense as well as a preacher of the Gospel. His interest in New Zealand dated

from his having seen some Maori chiefs in the streets of Sydney. Struck by their appearance, he conceived the idea of establishing a Christian mission in their native land. During a visit to England in 1809, he persuaded the Church Missionary Society to send out with him a number of persons, mostly laymen, to found a mission among the Maoris. On the vessel that took them to Sydney was Ruatara, a nephew of Hongi. He had worked his passage to England in the hope of seeing King George, but had been badly treated and defrauded of his wages by the rascally captain with whom he made the voyage. Utterly destitute, disappointed in his great ambition, smarting under a sense of injury and insult, the unfortunate chief now found a friend and protector in Marsden, who took him to Parramatta and taught him the rudiments of Christianity. When Marsden returned to Sydney, news of the *Boyd* massacre had created a panic among those who were accustomed to trade in New Zealand, and the mission party, unable to find a ship to the islands, was disbanded, most of its members finding employment in Sydney. Marsden, however, did not allow these difficulties to shake his resolution. At his own expense he purchased a vessel and despatched to New Zealand the two lay missionaries, Hall and Kendall, with a letter to his pupil Ruatara, who had returned some time previously. Marsden had given Ruatara a supply of seed wheat, and, curiously enough, this present was partly responsible for the friendly reception accorded to the missionaries. Ruatara's crop of wheat was a many days' wonder to his kinsfolk. "They knew the value of roots; but how the wheat could yield the flour, out of which the bread and biscuits, they had eaten in English ships, were made,

was more than they could understand. They tore up some of the stalks, expecting to find something like their own potato at the root. That the ears should furnish the substance of a loaf of bread was not to be believed. Either Ruatara was playing a trick with them, or he had himself been duped, and they were not going to be so taken in.

"Ruatara had only to wait. The field was reaped, and the corn threshed out; then he found himself minus a mill! He tried in vain to grind his corn in a coffee-mill, borrowed from a trading ship; and now his friends laughed at him for his simplicity.

"Fortunately, the missionaries brought him a hand-mill. Still incredulous, the people assembled to watch the result; but when the meal began to stream out beneath the machine, their surprise was great, and when a cake was hastily baked in a frying-pan they shouted and they danced for joy. Ruatara was now believed. He was right in the matter of the wheat, and they could trust him as to his report of the missionaries; they were good men."

Hall and Kendall returned to Sydney in October 1814, taking with them Hongi, Ruatara and other chiefs, all of whom found a home under Marsden's hospitable roof. Hongi, already a noted warrior and dreaming of future conquests, heard the Gospel without heeding, but recognising that the missionaries were "good men" whose presence might be used to further his ambitions, he promised Marsden that he would protect those about to be despatched to New Zealand.

Marsden now determined to go to New Zealand himself, and in November 1814, he set out in the *Active*, accompanied by Kendall, Hall and King, their families, a few mechanics and a retinue of

eight Maoris. Strong in his faith "that you cannot form a nation without commerce and the civil arts" he loaded the ship with useful tools and barter, with seeds and cattle and horses. Arriving at the Bay of Islands, Marsden found that the local natives were engaged in a war with those of Wangaroa, and one of his first duties was to endeavour to make peace between them. As a result of his efforts the hostile chiefs were soon rubbing noses in token of friendship. His description of his first night on shore, recalls something of the romantic interest which pioneers feel; "The night was clear, the stars shone bright, and the sea in our front was smooth. Around us were innumerable spears stuck upright in the ground, and groups of natives lying in all directions, like a flock of sheep upon the grass, as there were neither tents nor huts to cover them. I viewed our present situation with sensations and feelings that I cannot express, surrounded by cannibals who had massacred and devoured our countrymen." The landing of the goods was watched by the natives with marked interest, and when they saw the good Marsden mounted on one of the horses, their astonishment was unbounded. It was a glimpse into a new world. The missionaries were introduced to the chiefs, Marsden explaining the duties of each. Kendall was to teach the children; Hall to build houses and boats; King to make fishing-lines. It will thus be seen that the mission station was to be a sort of industrial school as well as a centre of Christian influence. On the Saturday after their arrival the faithful Ruatara had fenced in half an acre of ground, erected a pulpit, and arranged seats made of old canoes; and in this singular church Marsden preached his first sermon in New Zealand,

Ruatara acting as interpreter. Hongi was there dressed in regimentals, with a sword dangling at his side and a switch in his hand. Another chief, Korokoro, acted as a kind of master of ceremonies, signalling with his switch when the audience was to stand and when to sit down.

Afterwards Marsden undertook a short coasting voyage and was everywhere well received, his name acting like a talisman among the natives. In one respect alone he disappointed them—he would supply no weapons of war. Many of the Maoris refused to work or trade except for muskets and powder; but the missionaries held out, and in time were able to get all the assistance they required by the exchange of tools of husbandry, blankets, pipes, and other articles. After completing the purchase of 200 acres of land at Rangiho for the Church Missionary Society, Marsden returned to Sydney. He made no less than seven visits to New Zealand, the last in 1837 when he was seventy-two years old. His influence did much to mitigate the ferocity of intertribal fighting and his name was revered by white men of all sects and classes, although he was severe upon the pakehas who, he says, were "generally men of the most infamous character, runaway convicts and sailors and publicans, who opened grogshops in the pahs, where riot, drunkenness, and prostitution are carried on daily." The Maoris loved him and trusted him as a father. On the occasion of his last visit, when he was no longer able to ride, they insisted on carrying him on a *kauhoa* or hammock, and did all in their power to demonstrate the great affection they felt towards him.

In a short sketch like this it would be impossible to give anything like a history of missions in New

Zealand or to describe the labours of individual missionaries, several of whom were men of great tact and ability. The original party was soon augmented and another station founded at the Kerikeri in 1819. Three years later Mr. Leigh established the first Wesleyan mission in the valley of Kaeo at Wangaroa, where the natives were less tractable than those at the Bay of Islands, refusing to supply food except for arms and powder, and generally behaving with ferocious insolence. "They are almost past bearing," wrote one of the missionaries, "coming into our houses when they please, demanding food, thieving whatever they can lay their hands on, breaking down our garden fences, stripping the ship's boats of everything they can. They seem, in fact, ripe for any mischief." After the destruction of this station in 1827 by some of Hongi's people, the Wesleyans selected a site on the Hokianga River and thence extended their influence to many parts of the country. Up to 1832 the mission stations, both Anglican and Wesleyan, were confined to the northern portion of the North Island; but after that date the missionaries began to operate over a wider field, forming fresh stations and travelling, on foot for the most part, throughout the length and breadth of the land. Among individual missionaries may be mentioned Archdeacon Henry Williams, his brother William Williams, afterwards Bishop of Waiapu, and Maunsell, among the Anglicans; and among the Wesleyans, Turner and Hobbs. Archdeacon Williams was accused of meddling in politics and also of "land sharking" in the interests of his family, but he was a man of great courage and resolution, singularly fitted to influence and dominate the minds of turbulent savages. Bishop Williams

and the Rev. Robert Maunsell were conspicuous for their labours in translating the Scriptures into Maori.

The utmost cordiality prevailed between the two societies. Nothing like sectarian bitterness appeared until the arrival of Pompallier. Bishop Selwyn, at his first coming, was also inclined to exhibit an exclusive spirit, of which he afterwards repented. In the early days, however, Marsden's tolerance and generosity influenced all mission efforts in New Zealand and united Anglicans and Wesleyans in a "holy" rivalry and brotherhood. It was well that it was so. For fifteen years their preaching and teaching seemed to be fruitless; they were like men crying in the wilderness. Converts were few and the great mass of the natives were, to quote Archdeacon Williams, "as insensible to the necessity of redemption as brutes." After 1830 a marked change took place, and the years in which New Zealand was desolated by savage native wars, were marked by an almost universal interest in Christianity, or what the Maori mind took for Christianity. Both Societies were now able to fill their schools and churches. In the schools adults sat side by side with children, and were eager to master the magic of reading and writing, as well as to study the new methods of farming and gardening introduced by the missionaries. It is no derogation from the value of missionary labours to say that the Maoris were attracted to Christianity more from worldly and utilitarian motives than from a true appreciation of its spiritual significance. The religion of the converts was too often a ludicrous mixture of the old paganism and Christian dogma. The *tapu* long retained its ancient terrors and when

sickness came their thoughts were apt to revert to the ancestral superstitions. It could not be otherwise. Many zealous converts exhibited an inordinate love of verbal quibbling and argument; and their disputatious and vain-glorious spirit precipitated tribal quarrels and led to a good deal of bloodshed. As an illustration of this the story of the Protestant Martyrs of Taupo may be given. The Waitotara, a Wanganui tribe, recently christianised, sent native teachers to convert the Taupo tribes, ancient enemies of theirs. Te Heu Heu, the Taupo chief, ordered these emissaries to return whence they came, and informed them that if they ventured again into his dominions he "would eat their heads and make cartridge paper of their hymn-books." Thereupon the Christians insulted a chief of the Patutokutu, who in turn ravaged the lands of the Christians. Finally the infidels took refuge in one of their strongholds and were besieged there by the Waitotara. The besieged having exhausted their provisions and ammunition, a parley was agreed to, and it was arranged that the besiegers were to be allowed to enter the fort, shake hands with the infidels according to the new custom of salutation common among Christians, and then the infidels were to be permitted to depart in peace for Wanganui. Mr. Matthews (a European missionary) was present when the following scene occurred. The infidels advanced with outstretched right hands to receive the arranged greeting, these the Christians seized with their left hands, and then assaulted their helpless foes with concealed tomahawks. A frightful carnage ensued; those who escaped fled down the hill, and many of them were shot by parties in ambush." The catastrophe which befell Te Heu Heu

furnished the Christian savages with a powerful argument. The village of Te Rapa, where the Taupo chief resided, was situated in a valley near Lake Taupo. The hills around it were full of hot springs and fumaroles, and undermined by volcanic fires. In 1846, after heavy rains, "an immense mass of mountain loosened and overwhelmed the village; all within it perished save a young man and a horse." The Waitotara, seeing in this the finger of God, plucked up courage and again sent two missionaries into the Taupo country. Both of them were murdered, however.

The Maoris joined eagerly in the unfortunate disputes which took place among the Wesleyan, Anglican, and Roman Catholic missionary societies. At first perplexed by these varieties of creed, they soon learned to take sides like their betters. Their sectarianism though bitter had its amusing side. In the Taranaki district the feud between rival congregations went to such a length that one party "erected a fence and lined it thickly with fern, so that the other might not see them." Rauparaha's son, on his return from England in 1850, accused a missionary of Puseyism! Europeans were now occasionally asked to confess their religious beliefs before receiving hospitality. On one occasion a traveller arrived at a pa, in which one religious party disputing with another had got possession of the gate, which to his astonishment he found shut; and the first question asked of him was, "To what church do you belong?" The traveller, seeing at once that his supper and night's lodging entirely depended upon his answer, after some hesitation replied, "To the true church;" which of course satisfied both parties, and the gate

was instantly opened, and a feast prepared for himself and followers.

These bickerings must not blind us to the humanising influence of missionary work. With few exceptions the missionaries followed in the steps of Marsden, and joined to the preaching of the gospel the civilising influence of useful industries. Where they confined themselves merely to preaching, their converts tended to degenerate into loafers; but at mission stations where the plough and the spade were in daily evidence, the Maoris developed habits of regular industry which were incalculably more valuable than a facility for quoting the Scriptures and a turn for disputation. One who deprecated Marsden's enthusiasm for secular means of civilisation is obliged to admit that "skill in husbandry and horticulture, a practical knowledge of mechanics, and an acquaintance with surgery and medicine, are highly important qualifications in a missionary." His superiority in these matters was the measure of the respect the natives paid him. The same gentleman tells us that he built his own house and even tried his hand at erecting a brick chimney. He tried to surround himself with all the adjuncts of an English home. "On a lone spot," he writes, "where I lived for many years, there grew up, step by step, a farm in miniature. We had in time a large and commodious dwelling house; a good lawn and shrubbery in front of it, a fruit garden and orchard at the back. Every sort of fruit, from the grape to the gooseberry, grew in abundance. In the green meadows, redeemed from the forest, and enclosed by hedges of thorn and sweetbriar, with the multiflora rose and honeysuckle, might be seen horses, cows, and, in time, sheep, peacefully grazing. A well stocked

poultry yard gave variety to the table, while wild ducks were numerous on the river and wood pigeons in the forest. The neat little church stood on an elevation and near it was the burial-ground and the bell; and not far off, was the school and the natives' houses. By the river side were a substantial wharf and boatshed, and conspicuous among the rest was a small windmill." At the Church Mission Station of Waimate, Darwin saw in 1835 "a well stocked farm-yard and fields of corn, a threshing barn, a winnowing machine, a blacksmith's forge, a water-mill, and plough-shares." Most of the work was performed by native labourers.

The missionary's knowledge of medicine also greatly enhanced his influence. "Calomel and blood-letting," writes one, "were fashionable remedies at that time. I fear that with the best intentions, no little harm was done in the use of those measures. The people, however, had the fullest confidence in our skill, and by their continual coming with aches and pains, as well as with more serious ailments, gave us ample practice in the healing art." Sometimes they had to deal with imaginary diseases. "As an example, I may cite," says the same writer, "the case of an athletic young man who was brought to me one day. From head to foot he was trembling with excitement. He had come for some medicine. The cause of his illness was that he had, by accident, eaten a *sacred potato*. He most firmly believed that, for such an act of sacrilege, the offended God had entered his stomach in the form of a lizard, and was consuming his vitals. Unless I could deliver him, he must die. It was equally vain to laugh, or to reason, with superstitious fear. After making the orthodox examination of my patient I gave him

some aperient pills, and told him to keep himself quiet for a while, and he would recover. I was going on the principle that *like cures like*. The next day I was told that the young man was still ill, and would die. Repairing to the village, I found him pale, haggard, and resigned, sitting at one end of a long hut open in front. From twenty to thirty chiefs were seated near him, smoking their pipes, and discussing the current topics of the day. The old women were preparing the ovens for the entertainment of their friends, who would flock to the place at the report of his death. In three days he was to die, and they were making due preparation for it. I expressed my regret and disappointment and re-examined my patient. I found out my mistake; I had given him medicine internally; I would now do so externally; and, with an air of greatest confidence, assured him that he would recover immediately on its taking effect, which they would know by its producing a stinging pain. On this I sent him a blistering plaster, with directions to apply it to the chest. In less than an hour the young man cried out, 'It bites! It bites!' And all said, 'Now he will recover.' And he did."

The missionaries have not made enough of their secular influence, possibly because by so doing they feared to be placed on a level with the pakeha and casual trader, whom they were inclined to despise. Yet the lonely slab hut that contained the drunken sawyer and his Maori wife, was in its way an outpost and centre of civilisation. Their lives, as large hearted missionaries were willing to admit, were far from being wholly evil. On the banks of the Hokianga River a considerable number of these men were settled between 1830 and 1840. They were

mostly sawyers occupied in felling the Kauri pine and rafting the timber down the river for shipment to Australia or England. They led the life of frontier men in all new countries and must not be judged by ordinary standards.

Any account of missionary effort in New Zealand would be incomplete without some reference to the many journeys made by individual missionaries among tribes in the interior or far removed from the usual haunts of white men. On foot they threaded their way through primeval forests; they swam flooded rivers, struggled through swamps, crossed mountain ranges where foot of white men had never trodden before, and went freely among savage and distrustful tribes with no weapons save their Bibles, and a faith and courage that neither hardship nor danger could shake. Dr. Shortland who met Bishop Selwyn on one of his pedestrian tours quotes a bit of native gossip which shows in what esteem the exponents of a fearless and muscular Christianity were held. "The great physical power and energy he exhibited in walking, and in fording rapid and dangerous rivers, even surpassing themselves in their own excellencies, was matter of so much wonder that they explained it by saying, and believing, that these qualities were the gift of God for this especial work." Selwyn's journals read like a romance. With him the episcopate was "a title not of honour, but of work." "No earthly dignity," he said in his first charge to his clergy, "either in Church or State, can equal the moral grandeur of the leathern girdle or the raiment of camel's hair, or the going forth without purse or scrip, and yet lacking nothing." He practised what he preached, returning often from his expeditions shoeless and in tatters;

and there were not a few among the missionaries of New Zealand who exhibited the same disregard of danger, and the same moral heroism in enduring hardship and privation, qualities which appealed powerfully to a manly race like the Maoris.

CHAPTER VIII.

NEW ZEALAND BETWEEN 1800 AND 1840.

WARS OF THE NATIONS.

THERE was a darker side to the picture presented of New Zealand in the previous chapters. Events happened which embittered the feelings of the Maoris in certain parts towards white men, and between 1820 and 1830 there broke out a series of wars between the tribes which made the country a charnel-house.

Before the opening of the nineteenth century individual Maoris had found their way to Sydney, where their stalwart figures and bold bearing attracted much attention. They themselves when first confronted with a civilised settlement exhibited more than a savage curiosity. They showed an intelligent interest in useful arts and endeavoured to discover the causes of the white man's superiority. In 1805 a Maori named Mohanger was taken to London by an English surgeon and returned to New Zealand with a present of carpenter's tools. Like Hongi, he afterwards expressed regret that he had not asked for fire-arms. Mohanger was the first of a considerable band of Maoris who visited England. Most of them proceeded thither under missionary auspices and their devout bearing and knowledge of the Scriptures made a favourable impression in certain

circles. Scoffers, however, saw the astute savage beneath the cloak of temporary devoutness. On their return to New Zealand these travellers were to their countrymen like books of wonder voyages. Accounts of the marvels they had seen circulated among all the tribes and proved to the Maoris that the few whalers and traders they knew were but the advance guard of a powerful and populous nation. Many were far-sighted enough to perceive that a day was coming when the hosts of the white man might fill up the land and exterminate the Maori, just as the pakeha rat was killing off the native rat.

The massacre of the *Boyd* in 1809 and the senseless and bloody revenge that was taken for it, added bitterness to these gloomy forebodings. The *Boyd* bound from Sydney to England and carrying seventy Europeans together with five Maoris, who were working their passage to New Zealand, called at Wangaroa for the purpose of obtaining fresh spars. On the voyage a Maori named Tarra, a relative of a Wangaroa chief, had been flogged unmercifully by the captain for alleged malingering. Landed at Wangaroa, he went about among his kinsmen, exhibiting the red wounds on his back and calling for revenge. The tribe, as in duty bound, took up his quarrel and laid their plans with a treachery as successful as it was sinister. As in the case of Marion, the captain and a portion of the crew were enticed ashore on some friendly pretext, and there killed and eaten; a fate which soon afterwards befell all the people on board the vessel, with the exception of one woman, two children, and a cabin boy. The boy was saved by Tarra himself out of gratitude for some small kindness, and the woman and children

were rescued by Mr. Berry of Sydney and a friendly chief named Te Pahi.

This butchery carried out with a cold-blooded ferocity only equalled in the worst incidents of the Indian Mutiny, excited to madness the crews of the whaling vessels then lying at the Bay of Islands. Joining their forces, they swore to inflict a bloody punishment upon the perpetrators of the massacre. Wrongly informed that Te Pahi, the rescuer of the woman and children, had been the instigator of the crime, they fell upon his village at the Bay of Islands: slew men, women and children to the number of thirty; and destroyed whares and crops, everything, in fact, that fire or sword could make an end of. The unfortunate Te Pahi escaped with a wound, but shortly afterwards was killed in a fight with the Wangaroa people who attacked him for befriending the only survivors of the massacre.

This massacre had an abundant aftercrop of evils. Among the natives it bred feelings of distrust and hatred which they nourished against a convenient day of reckoning: and among the white people it led to bloody reprisals and to other outrages that no amount of charity can palliate. Whalers kidnapped native women, and shot native men on the slightest provocation. The natives on their part lost no opportunity of returning blow for blow. The crews of shipwrecked vessels were killed and eaten: and there is some evidence for supposing that a sort of organisation existed among the coastal tribes for the capture of European vessels. In 1823 the English Government, with a view to putting an end to these atrocities, gave the Supreme Courts of Australia and Tasmania jurisdiction over British subjects in New Zealand. Some time previously, the

government of New South Wales, on its own responsibility, had appointed Mr. Kendall, a missionary, and three native chiefs to act as magistrates at the Bay of Islands. The Imperial authorities questioned the legality of this step; in any case it was inadequate to cope with the condition of affairs then prevailing in New Zealand.

Circumstances were arising, however, which gave a new direction to Maori ambitions. A great leader appeared and muskets began to displace the ancient spear and meré. The leader was Hongi Hika, a noble of the Ngapuhi nation. Born somewhere about 1777 at the Bay of Islands, he visited Sydney in 1814 and stayed some time with Marsden, the zealous apostle of Christianity among the Maoris. He made no profession of Christianity at this time, but assured his host that he would act as the protector of missionaries in New Zealand, a promise which he respected. He accompanied the first batch of missionaries to New Zealand, but leaving them to raise the white flag and preach the gospel of peace, he lost no time in plunging into a series of bloody tribal wars, in which he conquered and ravaged far and wide. Suddenly he determined to pay a visit to England, in order he said, "to see King George and bring back missionaries, carpenters, blacksmiths, Europeans, and twenty soldiers." Perhaps this decision was the result of an incident that took place in 1818. In an attack on the natives of Tauranga, a Ngapuhi chief armed some of his band with muskets and routed the terrified enemy with great slaughter. Hongi was eye-witness of the rout and no doubt treasured the incident in his memory. In England he assisted a Cambridge professor in the compilation of a Maori grammar and dictionary,

and generally posed as a friend of the missionaries. He was the lion of the season, but in the midst of many distractions he found time to watch the evolutions of troops, and to inspect the cannon at the Tower. It is also said that he took great pleasure in listening to accounts of the battles of Napoleon. He was presented to the First Gentleman in Europe who gave him a coat of mail and many other presents of considerable value.

On his return to Sydney he sold all his presents, except the suit of armour, for 300 muskets and a supply of gunpowder, and then proceeded to New Zealand to avenge the death of a favourite son-in-law who had been killed during his absence in a raid upon the Thames tribe. With a thousand followers, many of whom were armed with guns, he sailed for the Thames, where the fortress of Totara soon fell before him. Three hundred of the enemy were eaten to celebrate his victory. Then he assailed and captured Matakitaki, slaughtering 1400 of the garrison. One portion of his army marched southwards in the direction of Taranaki and caused the hasty flight of Rauparaha from Kawhia. The fame of the Ngapuhi and the guns of Hongi was soon on all men's lips and every tribe set itself with feverish energy to trade for guns and powder. In his first campaign Hongi carried all before him, for he possessed a practical monopoly of fire-arms; but before his death in 1828 this inequality had disappeared. In 1826 he defeated the Ngati-whatua in a great battle at Kaipara. His eldest son was slain there and, in the frenzy of his grief and rage, Hongi is said to have scooped out the eyes of several of the wounded. The following year saw him fighting at Hokianga against the people of Wangaroa. For

some reason or other he was not wearing King George's armour, and a bullet from an enemy's gun pierced his lung. He recovered sufficiently to entertain his friends by letting the wind whistle through the hole in his back, and it was not until thirteen months afterwards that he succumbed to his wound. A man of war, stained with much blood, and a barbarian to the last, it is singular to find him on his deathbed exhorting his tribe to protect the missionaries. White men, indeed, experienced little but courtesy at the hands of the Maori Napoleon.

For some time after Hongi's first campaign the Maoris had no thought but for guns. To meet the demand many vessels were fitted out in Sydney for the New Zealand trade, which was soon found to be profitable, for a few muskets would purchase a shipload of flax. The government of New South Wales endeavoured to exercise some control over the trade in fire-arms; but little could be done, and a large clandestine trade, of which statistics take no note, was carried on by whalers and others. In 1829 the known exports from New Zealand amounted to £135,486 and the imports were valued at £30,000. So strong was the commercial instinct grown among the natives that they lent themselves readily to the nefarious traffic in tattooed heads, for which there was a small demand, chiefly among agents of museums. The supply soon outpaced the demand. Had the demand been unlimited, head-hunting would have become a popular pastime and would have thriven as long as there were heads on Maori shoulders. Some gruesome tales are told of the trade. On one occasion a section of the Ngapuhi nation had been defeated at Tauranga, and the heads of some of the slain were sold to the master

of a schooner, which afterwards touched at the Bay of Islands. Here a number of natives came on board and, for their entertainment, the captain emptied a sack of heads upon the deck. Their consternation was extreme, for first one and then another recognised the head of friend or relative. They left the ship wailing and lamenting; but before the dreadful news could be published among those on shore, the captain had saved his neck by a speedy flight. Governor Darling, hearing of this episode, issued a proclamation against the inhuman traffic and in 1840 it had all but ceased.

Increased commerce was not followed by peace; it was, in reality, but the prelude to a series of still more sanguinary conflicts, which extended over a period of ten years. After Hongi's death the Ngapuhi still continued their raids, under very different conditions, however, for guns were now more fairly distributed. Pomare led a force against the Waikatos, who, after a preliminary retreat, made a stand at Kopua and, with the assistance of Taraia, chief of the Ngatimaru, almost annihilated the invading *taua*. To add to their troubles a civil war broke out at the Bay of Islands. Two girls, it said, quarrelled whilst bathing and one of them cursed the hapu or tribe of the other. A sanguinary fight ensued and only ceased when, remembering their kinship and the necessity for combination, some crafty person proposed a descent upon Tauranga in lieu of exterminating each other. Foiled in this attack, they organised in 1832 an expedition against Motiti, but after killing and eating most of the inhabitants of Mercury Island and Tuhua Island, the expedition was almost exterminated in a naval engagement. Fire-eaters as Hongi had made them, the Ngapuhi

had now had enough of fighting and confined their raids to nearer home.

The example of Hongi was not lost upon men like Rauparaha and Te Whero Whero. Rauparaha, as mentioned above, had fled from Kawhia on the approach of the Ngapuhi during their first campaign, and when threatened by the Waikatos, had finally removed his headquarters to the island of Kapiti, in Cook's Strait. After destroying pa after pa from Taranaki to Wanganui and beating off 2000 of his enemies who surrounded his fortress with war-canoes, his *mana* or prestige rose so high that hundreds of fugitives and free-lances flocked to his standard. Aided by these he harried the shores of Cook's Strait and made bloody descents upon the scattered settlements of the natives in the South Island. Two of his best known exploits in that direction were the murder of Tama-i-hara-nui and the sack of Kaiapoi.

The usual account of the former, obtained chiefly from native sources, is as follows: Some of Tama-i-hara-nui's tribe had treacherously killed Te Pehi, a relative of Rauparaha, and the chief swore to take ample *utu*. He arranged with the rascally skipper of a vessel, then lying at Kapiti, to take him and eighty of his braves to Akaroa. Although Stewart —for such was the skipper's name—was not possessed of the daintiest of consciences, it is probable that once having received Rauparaha on board, he had no alternative but to obey. When the ship arrived at Akaroa the Maoris hid themselves below and Stewart lulled any suspicion the local natives may have felt by giving out that he had come to trade for flax and provisions. Tama-i-hara-nui, at that time absent a short day's journey, was easily persuaded

to visit the vessel. Accompanied by his wife, his son and daughter, and several members of his tribe, and little suspecting the presence of his enemies, he went on board and entered the cabin. There he found himself face to face with Rauparaha. The son of the murdered Te Pahi, who was also present, drew up the upper lip of Tama-i-hara-nui and cried: "These are the teeth which ate my father." In a moment the cabin and deck were a shambles, all being massacred save Tama-i-hara-nui and his wife and daughter, "who were kept to grace the victor's return." Afterwards Rauparaha's men landed and murdered every native they could lay hands on.

On the return voyage the warriors feasted on the flesh of their slaughtered enemies. Tama-i-hara-nui, one version of the story relates, in order to save her from a worse fate, persuaded his daughter, well named Nga Roimata (the Tears), to throw herself into the sea, perhaps in the hope that she might be able to swim ashore. The unhappy girl was drowned, however. Another version says that her more than Spartan mother strangled her to save her from dishonour. The father sat manacled in the cabin, a witness of these abominations and a butt for inhuman jests. At Kapiti he was put to death with every refinement of cruelty; but even when the red-hot ramrod was being thrust through his neck, he chanted, with stoic indifference to pain, a song he had "composed to commemorate his fate." Captain Stewart was tried in Sydney and acquitted owing to lack of evidence; but it is with a certain degree of satisfaction that one learns that Nemesis, like the Maori Wiro, sat already on the stern-post of his canoe; according to Thomson, he shortly afterwards dropped dead on the deck of his vessel when round-

ing Cape Horn, "and his body reeking of rum, was pitched overboard by his own crew with little ceremony and no regret."

The capture of the pa at Kaiapoi (1830) and the cannibal orgies that followed completed the vengeance of Rauparaha. It does not seem necessary to give particulars of the gruesome deed; more especially as it is necessary to describe the principal episodes in the war between the Waikato and the Ngatiawa. The feud between these two began before Rauparaha fled to Kapiti, and to understand it clearly we shall have to retrace our steps somewhat. After their defeat of Pomare, the warlike spirit of the Waikatos rose high, and they began to search about for a new foe on whom they might with safety test their recently imported muskets. An opportunity soon came. The Ngatiawa, who had quarrelled with the Taranakis, sent an embassy to Te Whero Whero to implore his assistance. It was readily granted and soon the Waikatos were in the field with a large force. Their advance was a triumphal progress punctuated with butcheries and cannibal feasts. Pa after pa was taken, and most of the Taranakis either slaughtered or enslaved. A small remnant found concealment in the caves and ravines of Mount Egmont and in the flax swamps at Waiwiri. Flushed and insolent with victory, the Waikatos now turned against their allies. The Ngatitoa and their chief, the wily Rauparaha, were bluffed out of their ancestral lands; but before taking refuge at Kapiti they remained for some time the welcome guests of kindred tribes. Here Te Whero Whero fell upon them and their friends, but was unexpectedly beaten off. This temporary success did not divert Rauparaha from his intended

retirement to Kapiti; and so many followed him thither that the remaining Ngatiawa seemed an easy prey for the Waikato.

The Ngatiawa had two strongholds, Pukerangiora and Ngamotu. The former was situated on a ridge which terminated abruptly on the Waitara River, and was not only a strong position, but one that could easily be supplied with provisions. The river abounded in mullet, eels, and lampreys; the forest at the rear swarmed with pigeons and tuis; and in the fertile fields adjoining the natives had large crops of potatoes, kumeras, taros, calabashes, and melons. Ngamotu was snugly situated on the coast opposite to the curiously shaped volcanic islands known as the Sugar Loaves.

In the early part of 1831 a Waikato canoe came to Ngamotu, ostensibly to procure a supply of dried shark, but really to spy out the land. Its crew overflowed with friendly protestations and the more guileless Ngatiawa opened their doors and their hearts to them. Before the end of the year, however, 4000 Waikato had surrounded Pukerangiora! For twelve days they assailed the stronghold in vain; then the garrison, caught napping as they had been, and insufficiently provided with food, made a reckless attempt to escape by day. Their movement was perceived, and in a trice the enemy was upon them. Women threw their children over the precipice and leaped into the river after them; but few escaped to tell the tale. That evening the visitors gorged themselves on human flesh with such beastly voraciousness that not a few of them died.

Te Whero Whero's horde then directed their march upon Ngamotu and at daybreak, on a morning in February 1832, were descried by the watchers

straggling in loose array along the beach. The garrison consisted of eleven Europeans, led by the flax-trader Dicky Barrett, and 350 Maoris. The Europeans had mounted four carronades, but for shot they had only pieces of iron and stones. At the approach of the enemy the Ngatiawa hastened to complete their preparations: some ran to fetch food and water into the pa; some piled up sods round the walls of the whares: others manned the guns and watched the oncoming of the Waikato. With true Maori caution the enemy halted and signalled for a parley, upon which a chief from either side advanced to meet each other. They rubbed noses and then squatting on the sand, proceeded to business. The Ngatiawa chief asked what his people had done to provoke this attack and why the Maoris should destroy each other for the benefit of the stranger. Why, indeed? echoed the Waikato. They were wrong, his people: they should return immediately, but first let them into the pa to embrace their friends! This friendly hint was not taken, however, and soon the Waikato warriors, after dancing their war dance, rushed like a pack of wolves upon the pa, but were repulsed with loss, chiefly by the aid of the carronades. Next day a Ngatiawa chief, in a fit of valour, rushed from the pa and fired off his musket at the enemy; he was shot for his pains and the combatants fought savagely over his body. Then several Waikato chiefs came and in the most friendly manner invited the garrison to surrender, and singularly enough many were inclined to accept this invitation, and might have done so but for the opposition of the Englishmen. On the fourth day of the siege another parley was held. The Waikato chief said he was ashamed of his perfidy; all that

was at an end, however, he would go immediately. But for the protests of the Englishmen the Ngatiawa would have invited their wily enemy to a friendly dance. Two sisters quarrelled on the subject of the good faith of the Waikato, and one of them desiring to show that these good people had been maligned, ventured out of the pa and was immediately cut to pieces. After that the enemy commenced a sap, but this was frustrated by counter-sapping on the part of the garrison; then they built mounds, from which fire-brands were hurled into the pa, without doing much damage, however. A diversion was created by the arrival of the *Currency Lass* from Sydney with supplies for the white men at Ngamotu. After a fruitless attempt made by the Waikato to capture her, all parties suspended hostilities and traded, apparently in the most amicable spirit.

On the fight being resumed, one of the carronades burst, an incident which encouraged the besiegers to make a grand and decisive attack. At dawn next day they advanced with terrific yells, and one party actually got into the pa, but was annihilated by the defenders, who, inspired by the coolness and dogged courage of the Englishmen, fought like heroes. The carronades, worked with much precision, made such havoc in the ranks of the assailants that they fled in a panic, leaving 350 dead and wounded around the pa. With shouts of victory the Ngatiawa rushed from their stronghold, hacked the wounded to pieces, and then made preparations for the inevitable banquet.

The Waikato had now had their fill of fighting and retired to their own country; but the Ngatiawa whose ranks were greatly thinned, deeming discretion the better part of valour, abandoned their homes

and joined their kinsfolk at Otaki, Wellington, Queen Charlotte Sound, and other places.

Such are a few of the most conspicuous episodes in a series of wars in which nearly every tribe was involved, and in which it was calculated that 20,000 Maoris were slain. By 1839 there was something like peace; all were exhausted, and as every tribe was now possessed of fire-arms the game of war became too deadly to be entered upon lightly.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW ZEALAND BETWEEN 1800 AND 1840.

THE HOUR BEFORE THE DAWN.

CAPTAIN COOK had taken possession of the North and South Islands in the name of King George the Third, and New Zealand was by implication included within the vague limits of New South Wales, but everybody seems to have forgotten or ignored these points and to have regarded New Zealand as a No Man's Land, the Liberty Hall of the Pacific. The prevalence of racial squabbles and of crime among British subjects had led to the appointment in 1814 of Mr. Kendall as magistrate at the Bay of Islands, and in 1817 the Imperial Government passed an Act in which it was enacted that passengers or crews of any British ship charged with offences committed in a country not belonging to a European nation or to the United States of America, might be tried in any Colonial port which possessed Admiralty jurisdiction. New Zealand was specially named in the statute. By an Act passed in 1823 the Courts of New South Wales were authorized to exercise jurisdiction over British subjects in New Zealand. In a few cases offenders were brought to justice, but Sydney was so remote and the authorities knew so little of what was actually passing in the islands that when, as in the case of Stewart, they did lay their hands on a law-breaker, the difficulty of pro-

curing evidence rendered acquittal almost a foregone conclusion.

In the first of these Acts Great Britain expressly disclaimed any desire to extend British Sovereignty to New Zealand. Although colonising schemes were in the air, the Duke of Wellington when he said that England had colonies enough, was probably voicing the opinion of most practical politicians. New Zealand was often mentioned as an ideal place for a colony; but the general public was frightened by tales of Maori cruelty and cannibalism, and the Colonial office took its cue from the missionaries who for many years persistently opposed every scheme for colonisation or annexation. They feared the influence upon the natives of the vices of the white men, and although not free themselves from the imputation of land-sharking, they laboured zealously to preserve the country "from the intrigues of designing men." There was something of the dog-in-the-manger attitude about them. Many of them wished to keep New Zealand for the Maoris and themselves: in other words, to make it a close preserve from which all influences should be excluded except their own. The historian must give them full credit for zeal, devotion, and singular courage as well as for the civilising work they undoubtedly performed, but he is often tempted to wish that in New Zealand and in other portions of the Empire, missionaries had cultivated a little more worldly wisdom and a little less uncritical enthusiasm. Statesmen have found to their cost that the advice of Exeter Hall, no matter how well meant, is often far from being a sound basis for Imperial policy.

The opposition of the missionaries to settlement

in New Zealand was considerably modified as time went on. In the first place, it became every year clearer that it was impossible to exclude settlers and that it was difficult to control their relations with the natives without legalising settlement; and in the second place, an apprehension arose in the thirties that France was contemplating the establishment of a Colony in New Zealand. There were good grounds for this apprehension. French war-ships voyaging in the Pacific nearly always put in at a New Zealand port, especially at Akaroa, the beautiful inlet in Banks' Peninsula where Rauparaha kidnapped Tama-i-hara-nui. At the time of the raid there were already the beginnings of a French settlement at Akaroa. It was the resort of whalers and sealers belonging to that nation, and still bears marks of its origin. Some years afterwards Langlois the captain of a French whaler gave out that he had purchased 300,000 acres at Banks' Peninsula, and as a result of his representations the "Nanto-Bordelaise" Company was formed to establish a colony at Akaroa. What became of the scheme will be related in another chapter. In 1827 Captain D'Urville, a French naval officer, had spent some time making surveys of the coast of the Middle Island, and in 1831 the warship *La Favorite* anchored in the Bay of Islands, with the intention, it was currently reported, of taking possession of New Zealand. The project came to nothing, but it caused some stir among the natives and missionaries.

The Maoris still remembered their treatment at the hands of the "tribe of Marion," and their apprehensions were cultivated by their missionary friends. After the visit of *La Favorite* thirteen chiefs of the Ngapuhi petitioned William the Fourth

to protect them from the "tribe of Marion" and also to prevent strangers from despoiling them of their lands. Thereupon the Imperial Government, acting on the suggestion of the Governor of New South Wales, sanctioned the appointment of Mr. James Busby as British Resident at the Bay of Islands. His instructions were to endeavour to prevent outrages, to protect white man and Maori, and to obtain influence over the chiefs; his power, however, was so ridiculously inadequate that the Kororarekans dubbed him the "man-of-war without guns." Both Lord Goderich, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Governor Bourke warned him that he had little legal power, since the British Government still declined to regard New Zealand as a dependency. In addition to salary of £500 per annum, he received £200 a year for judicious distribution among the natives. He was thus an agent with little authority save his own personal influence and such as might be derived from the occasional presence of a man-of-war. He arrived in May 1833, and the dignity and aloofness of his manner seem to have greatly amused the roysterers of the Bay of Islands. A gentleman of his position could not, of course, be expected to take an interest in their little gaieties; besides, he was soon occupied with an ambitious and daring scheme—nothing less than the creation of a Parliament of native chiefs for the government of New Zealand. As a preliminary to the carrying out of this benevolent design, he persuaded Governor Bourke, his immediate superior, to sanction the use of a national flag. Accordingly H.M.S. *Alligator* was sent to the Bay of Islands with various patterns of flags; and the chiefs there assembled, acting, it is said, on the advice of a

Yankee sailor, chose a device resembling the Stars and Stripes of America. This, slightly altered, was hoisted as the national flag of New Zealand, and a royal salute fired in its honour. The Secretary of State gave his solemn approval to these proceedings and the Admiralty ordered its officers to respect the Maori ensign.

Shortly afterwards the guns of the *Alligator* were employed in very different work. In April 1834 a bark commanded by Captain J. Guard, an ex-convict, was wrecked on the coast of Taranaki. The crew escaped and for a time lived as the guests of the Maoris in that district. A quarrel having arisen, however, twelve of the sailors were killed, and Guard and his wife, with their two children, and ten sailors were seized as prisoners; Guard and some of the sailors being afterwards liberated on condition of their returning with a supply of powder with which to ransom the others. Thereupon the Government of New South Wales despatched the *Alligator* with some soldiers on board, to effect the rescue of the prisoners. On the arrival of the man-of-war the captive sailors were immediately released and the Maoris were given to understand that a ransom would be paid as soon as the woman and children should be handed over. The soldiers having been landed, two unarmed natives advanced to meet them. One of them, a chief, informed Guard that his wife and children were well, and that they would be surrendered on the payment of the ransom. Owing to some misunderstanding, which none of the accounts explain, the officer in charge of the boat, seized the friendly native, hustled him into the boat, and stabbed him with a bayonet. Afterwards when Mrs. Guard and one of her children were sur-

rendered, the wounded chief was released. Then a chief who had fed the other child and tended it carefully, offered to take it on board the *Alligator,* in order to secure the promised ransom. When informed that none would be paid, he turned back, but had gone but a few yards before he was shot, "and the infant was taken from the agonising grasp of the dying man, to whom it clung as to a friend. The dead man's head was then cut off, and kicked about the sand!" Not content with this inexplicable brutality, the ship's guns opened fire, destroying two villages and killing many of the natives. That British officers could be guilty of such atrocious deeds is almost incredible, and makes one inclined to suspect that some of the facts have not come to light; yet a Select Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to investigate the occurrence, found no palliating circumstances and expressed strong disapprobation of the conduct of all the white men concerned.

It was soon apparent that Mr. Busby's authority was but a shadow. The Government of New South Wales pressed upon the Home Authorities the necessity of supporting him with troops. It was evident that something must be done, but the disreputable proceedings of the *Alligator* pointed to some other solution of the difficulty than that of increasing Mr. Busby's authority. The appearance of Baron de Thierry upon the scene and the arrival of a French Roman Catholic bishop broke down the opposition of the missionaries and brought annexation within measurable distance.

The aspirations of Baron de Thierry form an amusing chapter in New Zealand history. The son of a French emigrant residing in England, De

Thierry had early been attracted by New Zealand as a field for the exercise of his visionary ambitions. In 1820 he met Hongi at Cambridge and gave Mr. Kendall "£1000 worth of goods" to purchase the whole of the North Island north of the present site of Auckland. The thousand pounds worth of goods consisted of thirty-six axes with which Mr. Kendall was reputed to have purchased 40,000 acres. This magnificent estate remained for long unclaimed by its eccentric purchaser, but in 1835 the British Resident received a letter in which the Baron expressed his intention of establishing a sovereignty in New Zealand. In other communications he explained at length the nature of the government he intended to set up, and invited some of the missionaries to act as magistrates in his kingdom.

His pretensions might have been lightly regarded but for the well grounded suspicion that his scheme had received some countenance in France. Busby, at any rate, was alarmed and hastened forward his equally visionary scheme for creating a Parliament of Maori chiefs. In 1835 thirty-five chiefs calling themselves the "United Tribes of New Zealand" proclaimed their independence, and petitioned the King of England to be patron and protector of their confederacy. An elaborate constitution drafted by the indefatigable Busby was discussed and adopted by the chiefs. Absurdity and lack of humour were apparent in every line of it. All sovereign power was to reside in the hereditary chiefs in Parliament assembled, although tribal wars were still raging from Cook's Strait to Coromandel; justice was to be administered by European and native judges, and English and native laws were to be amalgamated—in what way is not stated; and an armed force of

Europeans and natives was to keep the peace and exact obedience. Sir George Gipps consigned the whole thing to oblivion with the remark that it was "a silly and unauthorised act, a paper pellet fired off at Baron de Thierry."

The latter gentleman, after announcing himself at Sydney, arrived at Hokianga in 1838, with ninety-three followers, mostly vagrants whom he had picked up in Sydney. He began his reign with becoming state. A silken flag was hoisted, and among other rules of court etiquette, was one requiring his subjects to back out of his presence. The natives, however, made difficulties. They said the thirty-six axes were only a deposit and would only acknowledge him the owner of some 300 acres. His funds soon came to an end and his retinue slunk over the hills to Kororareka, leaving their quondam king and his family in a state of extreme poverty. In 1864 his adventurous career came to an end in Auckland, where he had been making a scanty living as a teacher of music.

During the same year in which Thierry unfurled his flag, Pompallier, the Roman Catholic bishop previously referred to, arrived from France at Hokianga. News of his appointment by the Pope had been received in New Zealand two years earlier, and contributed, probably more than Thierry's proposed descent, to convince the Protestant missionaries of the desirability of getting the islands placed under British protection. The Government, however, administered a snub to those of them who joined in a petition to that effect addressed to William the Fourth. Yet to many observant persons, both in England and Australia, it was apparent that annexation could not long be postponed. It was to this

conviction that the "land-sharking" mania was due. Adventurers rushed to New Zealand as to a gold mine. When Hobson arrived in 1840, almost half the entire country was claimed as having been purchased. The methods of the land-sharks showed a delightful combination of bluff and ingenuity. When the mania was at its height, a lawyer's clerk leaving blank spaces for names of places and persons, and sailing along the coast of New Zealand disposed of the lot at five guineas per deed. The result was a chaos of land claims. The natives, ignorant of titles, often knew nothing of lands alleged to have been sold; in many cases the same land was claimed by several individuals; boundaries were entered after signatures; in some cases chiefs had sold land over which they had no rights whatever; and the whole of the Middle Island was said to have been purchased from a few natives who had come to Sydney as sailors. This rush for land, though it led to long and bitter litigation, marks the end of anarchy in New Zealand. It was the darkest hour before the dawn.

CHAPTER X.

SYSTEMATIC COLONISATION.

HITHERTO we have been dealing with sporadic and unauthorised settlement, with adventurers who camped wherever there were seals or whales to be caught, or Kauri pines to be felled for masts and spars, or wherever the Maoris were willing to trade. In 1825 the first scheme for the colonisation of New Zealand was initiated. A Company of influential persons, including Lord Durham, was formed, and, as a result of its efforts, sixty settlers embarked for the Hokianga River, where the Company's agent, Captain Herd, had purchased a block of land. When the emigrants arrived, they found that war was raging between the Hokianga natives and those of the Bay of Islands, and the sight of a war dance completed their dismay. Most of them left the country at the earliest opportunity, and £20,000 was thus spent in vain.

But colonisation was in the air: it was, in fact, a necessity of the times. For years after 1815, England felt the effects of her long struggle with Napoleon, and there was much distress among the masses. The rise of manufactures and the consequent increase of commerce, had, indeed, by 1830, produced some improvement in the condition of artisans in towns; but the labouring class in the counties was, if possible, in a more abject state of poverty than at the close of the war. The artisans,

although in the mass they may have been better off, were not able to adapt themselves readily to the new conditions brought about by the introduction of machinery. Many of them were still in sympathy with the Luddite movement, and ascribed all their miseries to the machines that were, in truth, revolutionising industrial England. The year 1830 was one of gloom and depression. The Royal speech at the opening of Parliament in that year drew special attention to the distress that prevailed, and Lord Stanhope moved an amendment, stating that agriculture, trade, commerce, and manufactures had never before been in so disastrous a condition. Various remedies were suggested, such as retrenchment in the Civil Service, reduction in the expenditure for army and navy, reform in taxation, Parliamentary reform. The Reform Bill was soon to become law, but practical men knew that its influence upon the condition of the industrial classes could only be gradual and indirect.

It was at this juncture that certain political and social theorists brought into prominence the idea of systematic colonisation. A great many distinguished men were associated with the movement, but to Edward Gibbon Wakefield must be given the credit of originating the scheme, elaborating its details, and getting it applied in a more or less modified form, in South Australia and various parts of New Zealand. He was a man of remarkable originality and vigour of thought; his mind was logical, persistent, and fertile in resources. Even his opponents admitted his ability; but his best friends were constrained to regret his ineradicable love of intrigue and deception. Of two ways of reaching the same object, Wakefield nearly always preferred

the more tortuous. But whilst taking note of such blemishes of character, one must not allow oneself to be beguiled into condemning the system merely because the man and his methods are open to objection.

As early as 1826 Wakefield had given evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to investigate emigration and colonisation as possible remedies for the distress of English labourers, and its report was strongly influenced by his opinions. It pointed out the evils that flowed from haphazard emigration, and recommended an emigration regulated by local authorities. In the opinion of the Committee food must precede emigration: in other words, capital and labour must be joined in due proportion. Wakefield's hand is also seen in the Instructions issued in 1831 by Lord Goderich as to the disposal of Colonial Crown lands, which, in Australia and elsewhere, had often been flung away with reckless improvidence; and his theories were the watchword of the reformers who in 1830 had formed the Colonisation Society. The essence of Wakefield's scheme as set forth in his *View of the Art of Colonisation,* and in numerous pamphlets and articles, frequently fathered by others, was to "substitute systematic colonisation for mere emigration." The realisation of this object involved the judicious regulation of the price of Colonial lands as well as the regulation of the labour supply. Hitherto Crown lands had been alienated at so low a figure that the immigrant of the labouring class was easily and quickly transformed into a land-owner. The result had always been a dearth of reasonably cheap labour. To remedy these evils Wakefield advocated that land

should no longer be given away, but sold at a "sufficient" price, and that part of the proceeds of land-sales should be devoted to assisting the emigration of labourers of the class most needed. The price would depend on circumstances, but should be uniform at the same time and place; and emigration should be carefully adjusted to meet the wants of the new settlement, for unrestricted emigration had in recent years been attended by many evils, hundreds and even thousands of people being landed yearly in both Canada and Australia in a destitute condition and without experience of the trades most required in a new country.

The part of the scheme that appealed most to practical men was the suggestion for aiding poorer persons to emigrate. But Wakefield's Colonial theories included more than this or a "sufficient" price for land. His final aim was to transplant a section of "English society in its various gradations in due proportions, carrying with them the laws, customs, associations, habits, manners, everything in England but the soil and the climate:" a dream that seemed on the point of realisation in the Canterbury settlement. It was bound to fail, however, for it ignored conditions inevitable in every colony. To bring feudal and aristocratic notions of society into the "bush," to use an expressive Australian word, is about as ridiculous as to encase a Rhodesian trooper in a suit of mediæval armour. And yet the fallacy of regarding colonial society from a purely English point of view is one that persists even to this day. The Englishman in a new country, it is true, does surround himself with as many adjuncts of his old home as he can, but for all that he undergoes many subtle and curious

changes. He is inevitably divested of mannerism, habits, and ways of thought which in England appeared as essential as meat and drink, but which slip away from him the moment he is brought face to face with the realities of pioneering. All the unessential things go by the board and he fights unhampered by the more or less decorative weapons which it pleased him to wear in the old land. If Wakefield could have carried out his idea under absolutely favourable conditions, if he could have transported to New Zealand the entire population of an English county, in twenty-five years he would have found them changed almost beyond recognition. The peer, without stain to his rank as gentleman, might be found "punching" bullocks; the bishop might be seen touring the wilds on foot, swimming rivers, sleeping in vermin-haunted pas, and though in rags, clothed about with a better and manlier dignity; the squire might be a successful sheep farmer or be seen, in shirt sleeves, smoking his pipe over the counter of a country store; and strangest change of all, Farmer Hodge and his man might be owners of broad estates or might have fought their way to the forefront of local politics. Colonies are indeed mints wherein the old coins are melted, amalgamated, and fashioned into a new currency—the Empire currency. The process is inevitable, and if we look at it broadly, not in any way to be regretted. The Empire of to-day is an infinite variety in unity, and it is only by the generous recognition of this fact that its permanence can be secured. But if Wakefield and his followers failed to manufacture colonial Englands, they succeeded in sending out to New Zealand extremely good colonists, chosen from almost every class of English society. These throve

or failed and amalgamated in quite unexpected ways; but the original constituents of the amalgam were the best procurable.

In 1836 Wakefield said to a Parliamentary Committee, "We are going to colonise New Zealand, I think, though we are doing so in a slovenly and scrambling and disgraceful manner." He pointed out that the adventurers who made treaties with the natives and obtained land for trinkets and muskets, would, in time, force the Government to take over the country and appoint a Governor; but he thought as little of this form of colonisation as the missionaries did. And yet the missionaries and he were about to enter upon a prolonged struggle, and in the end we shall find him, or rather the Company of which he was the leading spirit, purchasing thousands of acres for trinkets and muskets. In 1837 Francis Baring, with Wakefield and other influential persons, founded the New Zealand Association; and almost at the same time a Parliamentary Committee inquiring into the condition of aborigines in the Colonies, commented upon the "iniquity of ousting the natives from their land," special reference being made to New Zealand. This report was inspired by the Church Missionary Society, a powerful organisation, which had found a willing instrument in the fatuous Lord Glenelg, then Secretary of State for the Colonies; a man who has been well described as a "sentimental doctrinaire" who painted Kaffir and Maori as noble-minded children of nature and who "favoured a reactionary policy of abandoning, curtailing, or disintegrating what he conceived to be the unwieldy British Empire." And here it may be said that Downing Street has never been so nerveless, vacil-

lating, and crassly stupid as when it was most under the influence of sentimental humanitarians. When the Association approached Lord Glenelg on the subject of colonising New Zealand, he reluctantly offered to grant a charter, but only on condition the Association became a Company trading for profit. This it refused to become. In the following year, when Lord Durham and Wakefield were absent in Canada, Baring introduced a bill into Parliament "to establish a provincial government of British settlements in New Zealand, under the control of sixteen commissioners." This modification of the Association's original proposals was described by Lord Howick as "monstrous" and the bill was rejected by a large majority. In the meantime deputations had waited upon the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Dandeson Coates, the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society. The Duke said England had colonies enough and that they were expensive to govern and manage; and Mr. Coates promised that he would oppose the colonisation of New Zealand by every means in his power—a promise which he fulfilled to the letter. He accused the members of the Association of being influenced by motives of personal gain and described the scheme as godless, "destitute of any provision for religious instruction, and under the management of the *notorious* Edward Gibbon Wakefield." To these combined forces of Church and State the Association succumbed; but only to rise from its ashes as the New Zealand Company of 1839. The formation of the Company was an attempt to hold the Government to its promise to grant a charter to a Company trading for profit. But the Government still made difficulties, and at length the Company, in desperation, deter-

mined to form settlements in New Zealand without the permission or assistance of the Government. They had previously condemned the policy of allowing private individuals to enter into treaties with, or to purchase land from, savage races, but the indifference and inconsistency of the Colonial Office left them no alternative. This time they did not take the Ministry into their confidence until they had actually crossed the Rubicon. Accordingly on the 12th of May 1839, before their plan was made public, the ship *Tory* having on board Colonel Wakefield, the Company's chief agent, Edward Jerningham Wakefield, a lad of nineteen, Dr. Dieffenbach, a reputed Maori chief named Nayti, and others, sailed from Plymouth for New Zealand. Colonel Wakefield was instructed to purchase land and to make preparation for the arrival of emigrants. As soon as the *Tory* was safely at sea, the Company divulged the details of its scheme and the objects it had in view; it went so far, in fact, as to announce its intention of setting up a voluntary government in the proposed settlement and invited subscribers to sign what may be called a declaration of allegiance. It was as if a thunderbolt had fallen on Downing Street. Lord John Russell informed the directors that their project of forming a colony without the consent of the Crown, was illegal, and after a good deal of parley the directors admitted the error of their ways and placed themselves under the protection of the Government. But the Ministry was effectually roused from its indifference. The action of the Company had forced, as it probably was intended to do, the hands of the Government, which now, though with great reluctance, took measures for "establishing some British authority in New Zea-

land." Accordingly in June 1839 Letters Patent were issued under the Great Seal extending the boundaries of New South Wales so as to include any part of New Zealand which might be taken under the sovereignty of the Queen, and Captain Hobson, a naval officer, who had visited New Zealand in 1837, was in August appointed Lieutenant-Governor, with instructions to treat with the natives for the recognition of "Her Majesty's Sovereign authority over the whole or any parts of these islands, which they may be willing to place under Her Majesty's dominion."

When the rival emissaries were on the long voyage to New Zealand, it was reported in England that a shipload of emigrants had left France for Akaroa, and that a French frigate was on the eve of sailing for the same place. These rumors gave much anxiety to the shareholders of the Company; an anxiety which was not allayed by the discovery that Hobson had not been ordered to proclaim the Queen's sovereignty in New Zealand. A public meeting was held in the Guildhall, and a petition drawn up praying the Government to annex New Zealand; whereupon a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the subject. It was found that although Cook had taken possession of both islands in the name of King George the Third, the recognition, in 1833, of the independence of the New Zealanders as well as the acknowledgment of the national flag, had nullified the earlier claims. The glowing reports that were soon received from Colonel Wakefield tended to increase the excitement and also to give the Company a very important position in the estimation of the public; for it was felt that the bold action of the Company had saved

the Empire an extremely valuable possession. Land alleged to have been purchased from the natives was readily disposed of by lottery at £1 per acre in allotments of 101 acres. Thousands of acres were put up for sale at a time when the Company had absolutely no title to a square foot of New Zealand territory. Newspapers and periodicals lent their columns to "boom" the attractions of the Company's estates, and the directors described in such glowing language the method they proposed to follow that the interest of the public was effectually secured. The result of this clever and, it must be admitted, somewhat unscrupulous "booming" was that in a few months 216 first class passengers and 909 labourers had embarked for Port Nicholson, where many disappointments and hardships were in store for them. The emigrants, it may be noted, were mostly English and Scotch.

On the 16th of August 1839, the *Tory* had sighted the west coast of the Middle Island. Passing eastward through Cook's Strait, she anchored in Queen Charlotte Sound, the noble scenery of which enchanted all on board. Here Colonel Wakefield made some stay, collecting information from the natives and the numerous whalers settled at Te Awa-Iti and other inlets. Among these latter was the Dicky Barrett who had helped to beat off the Waikatos from Ngamotu. Hearing that Henry Williams was about to visit Port Nicholson with a view to persuading the natives not to part with their lands, Wakefield, accompanied by Barrett and a trader named Smith, crossed the Strait, and on the 20th of September entered Port Nicholson, at the head of which now stands Wellington, the present capital of New Zealand, fashioned "from out the

wounded hill-side." As the ship beat up the harbour, two Maori canoes were paddled alongside, and two chiefs came on board. These, after being well fed, expressed their delight at the coming of the white men and their willingness to sell land. Speaking of missionaries, they admitted that it was a good thing to renounce war and cannibalism, but deprecated incessant praying, and they further asserted that they had been told that all white men who were not missionaries were devils: exaggerations which amused them and were probably not displeasing to the Company's people, who had suffered much at the hands of Mr. Dandeson Coates and the Church Missionary Society. With the assistance of Dicky Barrett, these agreeable chieftains gave names to the more conspicuous features of the landscape. A landing was made at Petone, where the natives held a *tangi* or weeping ceremony in their joy at meeting Barrett's wife, a kinswoman of theirs. Without wasting much time on exploration of the surrounding country, Wakefield got together a number of Maoris for the purpose of explaining to them the object of his mission. A friendly chieftain delivered a bombastic harangue in which he enlarged on the benefits likely to follow from the presence of settlers in their midst, and it was apparent that the majority were of his way of thinking. One chief, however, protested eloquently against the sale of their lands. "What will you say," he exclaimed "when many, many white men come here, and drive you all away into the mountains? How will you feel when you go to the white man's house or ship to beg for shelter and hospitality, and he tells you with his eyes turned up to heaven, and the name of his God in his mouth, to be gone, for that your land is paid

for?" Probably few understood the nature of the transaction they were about to enter into, but all of them coveted the goods that were temptingly displayed on the decks of the *Tory*. After the usual amount of talk, boundaries were decided on and entered on deeds prepared after the model of similar documents in use among the missionaries, and these were then signed or marked by a considerable number of chiefs. Goods were then distributed, the New Zealand flag hoisted, and a salute of twenty-one guns fired; after which the natives celebrated the event with a war dance, a haka, and barbaric feasting. Wakefield then proceeded to Kapiti to treat with Esmparaha, who after "difficult and disagreeable" negotiations, was prevailed upon to attach his signature to a deed which purported to hand over "possessions extending from the 38th to the 43rd degree of latitude on the western coast and from the 41st to the 43rd on the eastern." Guns and powder were found to be the most effective baits. Owing to the rivalry of Sydney speculators Wakefield hurried on his negotiations and gave little attention to the value of signatures so long as he got them. The arming of savages was justified on the ground that the land-sharks were using exactly the same unscrupulous methods. In less than three months deeds had been signed alienating a territory as large as Ireland, but it was evident to anyone familiar with native land customs that the titles would in the future be the source of endless disputes. The "purchases" as well as the means adopted of securing them have been and still are subjects of controversy. Fortunately the old bitter partisanship has ceased to exist except in a few irreconcilables; and we can now read, without any strong emotion, unless it be one of

amusement, the list of articles with which the Company's lands were bought or supposed to be bought. They consisted of:

300 red blankets
200 muskets
16 single-barrelled guns
8 double-barrelled guns
2 tierces tobacco
15 cwt tobacco
148 iron pots
6 cases soap
15 fowling pieces
81 kegs gunpowder
2 casks ball cartridges
1500 flints
276 shirts
92 jackets
92 trousers
60 red nightcaps
300 yards cotton duck
200 yards calico
300 yards check
480 pocket-handkerchiefs
72 writing slates
600 pencils
204 looking-glasses
276 pocket knives
204 pairs scissors
12 pairs shoes
12 hats
4 kegs lead slates
200 cartouch boxes
60 tomahawks
2 cases pipes
10 gross pipes
72 spades
100 steel axes
20 axes
46 adzes
3200 fish-hooks
24 bullet moulds
6 lbs beads
12 hair umbrellas
100 yards ribbons
144 Jews' Harps
36 razors
180 dressing combs
72 hoes
2 suits superfine clothes
36 shaving boxes
12 shaving brushes
12 sticks sealing wax
11 quire cartridge paper
12 flushing coats
24 combs

An inventory which for variety and imaginative ingenuity leaves little to be desired.

CHAPTER XI.

WAITANGI.

In the meantime Hobson in H.M.S. *Druid* had arrived in Sydney, where he took the oaths of office as Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, and received his commission from Sir George Gipps. The latter issued three proclamations: one enlarging the boundaries of New South Wales; a second announcing that the prescribed oaths had been administered to Hobson; and a third setting forth the conditions under which the acquisition of land in New Zealand would be regarded as valid. Accompanied by a few officials, Hobson then departed from Sydney in the *Herald,* and arrived at Kororareka on the 29th January, 1840. Here after calling upon all Her Majesty's subjects to assist him, he proclaimed the extension of New South Wales so as to include New Zealand. Two other proclamations, printed at the missionary press at Paihia, announced (1) that British subjects resident in the Colony would henceforth be under the Queen's authority, (2) that no titles to land would be acknowledged as valid unless derived from Crown grants, (3) that buying land direct from the Maoris would in future be treated as illegal, and (4) that such purchases already made would be investigated by a Commission appointed for that purpose. The announcement as to land laid the axe at the root of land-sharking and stirred up a hornet's nest about Hobson. But, for the

moment, a more pressing difficulty had to be faced. The Lieutenant-Governor was instructed to establish British sovereignty over a territory acknowledged to belong to the natives, a proud and warlike people, and was precluded from using even a show of force—conquest, indeed, was not to be thought of. There remained only the delicate operation of persuading the Maoris to surrender their sovereignty, and until that could be done Hobson would be a landless governor, a ruler without a square foot of territory. The task might well have seemed hopeless. Yet within a few months, by the exercise of tact, and with the assistance of the missionaries, it was accomplished in a manner which, so far as the Maoris were concerned, left little to be desired. The missionaries were now thoroughly alive to the necessity of annexation and used to the full the influence they had acquired over the natives of the north. The French Roman Catholic mission intrigued, of course, in the opposite direction and their efforts are said to have been seconded by dissolute beachcombers and pakehas.

On the 5th of February, 1840, an assembly of natives representing the Northern tribes was held on the banks of the Waitangi (Weeping Water), near where the stream falls into the northern side of the Bay. It was a beautiful day and a romantic spot. Tents had been pitched, a platform erected, and flags planted about so as to enclose a space and give brilliancy to the proceedings. At noon, Hobson, followed by a staff of officers from the *Herald,* and others, took his seat on the platform, which was surrounded by chiefs and a crowd of followers. He addressed the chiefs, assuring them that they could rely on the good faith of Her Majesty's Government,

and then the Archdeacon explained, clause by clause, the proposed treaty, which had been prepared with the assistance of Busby. It contained three provisions, remarkable for their clearness and brevity; they run as follows:

1. The Chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand, and the separate and independent chiefs who have not become members of the Confederation, cede to Her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservation, all the rights and powers of sovereignty which the said Confederation or independent chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be supposed to exercise or possess, over their respective territories, as the sole sovereign thereof.

2. Her Majesty the Queen of England confirms and guarantees to the chiefs and tribes of New Zealand, and to the respective families and individuals thereof, the full, exclusive, and undisturbed possession of their lands and estates, forests, fisheries, and other properties which they may collectively or individually possess, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain the same in their possession; but the chiefs of the United Tribes and the individual chiefs yield to Her Majesty the exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the proprietors thereof may be disposed to alienate, at such prices as may be agreed upon between the respective proprietors and persons appointed by Her Majesty to treat with them in that behalf.

3. In consideration thereof, Her Majesty the Queen of England extends to the natives of New Zealand her Royal protection, and imparts to them all the rights and privileges of British subjects.

When the Treaty had been thoroughly explained

by Williams, the chiefs were invited to speak. Some twenty of them spoke in favour of signing, and five or six opposed it with much vehemence. One of the latter, pointing to Hobson, exclaimed: "Send that man away. Do not sign the paper; if you do you will be reduced to slavery and be compelled to break stones for the roads. Your land will be taken from you, and your dignity as chiefs will be destroyed." It was suspected that this opposition was fomented by the intrigues of the French bishop Pompallier, who was present in canonicals, and who naturally was anxious to further the schemes of his own compatriots. The English missionaries, however, were able to maintain their influence, and an elegant speech from Waka Nene, the chief of the Ngapuhi, decided the contest. On the following day, after twenty-four hours' deliberation, the chiefs announced their willingness to sign the Treaty, which forty-six of them accordingly did in the presence of 500 inferior chiefs.

The Treaty was then hawked all over the North Island by missionaries and Government agents and was signed before the end of June by 512 chiefs. What opposition was encountered was credited to the machinations of the *pakeha* Maoris or to the emissaries of the New Zealand Company. But with the exception of Te Heu Heu almost every chief of standing gave his assent. This readiness to accept the Treaty came as a surprise even to the well informed settlers. Contrary to expectation, the Maoris not only appear to have grasped its significance, but to have realised that the Treaty was the sheet-anchor of their rights as land-owners. By surrendering their sovereignty, they had, as Nopera put it, merely "given up the shadow whilst retain-

ing the substance." The Colonists, on the other hand, felt that in doing justice to the Maoris, the Governor had neglected the claims of the settlers. They were, indeed, in a far from pleasant predicament. Their titles were abolished by a scratch of the pen, and no *modus vivendi* had as yet been suggested. Many of them had paid what at the time was regarded as a fair price for their lands, and now they could be ousted at a barbarian's caprice. To many of them the native land customs seemed chaotic and whimsical to an exasperating degree, and it was reasonably inferred that the Treaty would but substitute Maori chicanery for that of the white speculator.

That there were some grounds for this apprehension may be seen from the Pakeha Maori's account of the disputes that followed the purchase by him of a block of land in the early days. "I really cannot tell to the present day," he says, "who I purchased the land from; for there were about fifty different claimants, every one of whom assured me that the other forty-nine were 'humbugs,' and had no right whatever. . . . One man said his ancestors had killed off the first owners, another declared his ancestors had driven off the second party; another man, who seemed to be listened to with more respect than ordinary, declared that his ancestor had been the first possessor of all, and had never been ousted, and that this ancestor was a huge lizard, that lived in a cave on the land many years ago—and, sure enough, there was the cave to prove it. Besides the principal claims, there were an immense number of secondary ones—a sort of latent equities—which had lain dormant till it was known that the Pakeha had his eye on the land. Some of them seemed to

me, at the time, odd enough. One man required payment, because his ancestors, as he affirmed, had exercised the right of catching rats on it, but which he (the claimant) had never done, for the best of reasons, *i. e.*, there were no rats to catch, except, indeed, pakeha rats, which were plentiful enough; but this variety of rodent was not counted as game. Another claimed because his grandfather had been murdered on the land, and—as I am a veracious Pakeha—another claimed payment because *his* grandfather had committed the murder! Then half the country claimed payments of various value, from one fig of tobacco to a musket, on account of a certain *wahi tapu* or ancient burying ground which was on the land, and in which almost every one had relations, or rather ancestors, buried, as they could clearly make out, in olden times, though no one had been deposited in it for about two hundred years; and the bones of the others had been (as they said) removed to a *torere* in the mountains. . . . It took about three months' negotiations before the purchase of the land could be made; and, indeed, I at one time gave up the idea, as I found it quite impossible to decide whom to pay. If I paid one party the other vowed I should never have possession, and to pay all seemed impossible; so at last I let all parties know I had made up my mind not to have the land. This, however, turned out to be the first step I had made in the right direction; for thereupon all the different claimants agreed among themselves to demand a certain quantity of goods, and divide them amongst themselves afterwards." Allowing for a touch of caricature, this may be taken as a truthful account of the difficulties Maori "lawyers" made in regard to the purchase of land.

The great need of the immigrants was land, and as the Government had no money and no machinery for making extensive purchases, it was difficult to see how it could be procured other than by direct dealing with the Maoris. Moreover, in so sparsely peopled a country there were millions of acres of waste land, "not actually occupied and enjoyed by natives;" and yet in the Treaty no reference was made to these "wild lands." The fact of the matter is that the Colonial Office at this time did not concern itself much about colonisation. Hobson and his estimable advisers thought less of smoothing the way for the settler than of saving the Maoris from the clutches of the New Zealand Company and the land-sharks. There is much to be said for them; but their zeal made them forget that the object of their coming was not merely to protect the natives but to colonise the country. The Treaty of Waitangi divided the English into two hostile camps. On one side were Hobson, the officials, and the missionaries; on the other side the powerful New Zealand Company and a multitude of land claimants. It was a league of north against south; of so-called philanthropists against colonisers. The mutual jealousies and suspicion of the two parties, their intrigues and counter-intrigues are traceable in all the State papers dealing with New Zealand at this period; and in the game of cross-purposes there was little compromise or conciliation.

On the 21st of May, Hobson proclaimed the sovereignty of the Queen over the North Island in virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi, and then, by a separate proclamation, over the whole of New Zealand. The Middle Island might have been claimed by right of discovery, but Gipps chose to justify its

annexation on the ground of the land-sharking proceedings of the New Zealand Company, the activity of whose agents was viewed with ever-increasing suspicion in Sydney and at the Bay of Islands. In January, 1840, the Company's first immigrants arrived in the *Aurora*, and before the end of the year, 1200 had been landed at Britannia, for by that name the settlement at the mouth of the Hutt River was known. The natives of the district were friendly, aiding the settlers to erect huts, and supplying them with pigs and potatoes. But finding the position exposed to the sea, Wakefield soon decided to remove the settlement to Te Aro, the site on which Wellingon now stands and which was then occupied by a Maori pa and cultivation fields. The natives resented this intrusion upon lands which they denied having sold. At first, however, they merely protested, preserving an attitude of passive hostility. It was from another quarter that the settlers were attacked. In order to preserve some sort of order, they had established a provisional government, and the Association as it was termed, had gone out of its way somewhat to arrest the master of a trading ship for some alleged violation of agreement with his charterer. This man escaping from duress, reported the matter to Hobson, who regarded the arrest and the creation of a provisional government as acts of rebellion. Gipps was equally emphatic. "According to my opinion," he wrote, "unaided by legal advice, the proceedings of the Association at Port Nicholson amount to high treason. They have usurped the power of Her Majesty in establishing a constitution and in appointing magistrates." It was clear, however, that this was too serious a view to take. Had the Government

already made provision for the maintenance of law in the Company's settlement, there might have been some justification of the term "treason"; but as no such provision had been made, it seems unreasonable to abuse the Company for endeavouring to regulate its own household, even assuming that it exceeded its legal powers.

Hobson decided to crush the presumption of the Te Aro people, and in hot haste despatched Lieutenant Shortland, the Colonial Secretary, to "displace all persons holding office under the authority of the usurped government," and to "restore to all persons the possession of property of which they were in possession when the emigrants arrived, and from which they had been forcibly ejected by persons calling themselves magistrates." Arriving at Port Nicholson, Shortland landed his thirty soldiers and marched upon the settlement in battle array. After this comic-opera parade of authority, he read a proclamation declaring the Association illegal and calling upon all persons to withdraw from it. Neither Colonel Wakefield nor the emigrants offered any strong objection to these orders, though the manner of enforcing them was little calculated to conciliate men who had staked everything to acquire lands and homes in New Zealand. During Shortland's visit a difficulty arose with the natives and the settlers took the precaution of arming themselves. This aroused the ire of Shortland. He prohibited the meeting of armed persons and administered snubs all round. He informed Wakefield that possession of land would not be allowed without investigation, and he treated the Maori land-owners with marked politeness. His method of reassuring them, implying, as it did, absolute distrust of the

Company, encouraged the Maoris to make difficulties which otherwise might not have occurred to them. These things coupled with the suspected hostility of the missionaries, rankled in the minds of the settlers; and henceforth there was war to the knife between Hobson and the agents of the Company. The former accused the Company of being thieves and gamblers, and Colonel Wakefield accused Hobson of interested motives in persistently belittling Wellington.

In August, 1840, Gipps in the face of strong opposition, succeeded in passing through the New South Wales Legislative Council an Act intended to nullify all titles alleged to have been acquired from the Maoris. The Act was set aside by the Imperial Government on the ground that as it was intended to separate New Zealand from Australia, it would be imprudent to make so important a measure appear to emanate from another Colony. Gipps, however, although he had consented, with much reluctance to acknowledge the purchase by the Company of 110,000 acres at Port Nicholson, absolutely refused to admit the validity of purchases said to have been made elsewhere.

In the midst of his struggles with the Company, Hobson had decided on a new site for a capital. Some difficulty was experienced in procuring a sufficient quantity of land at the Bay of Islands, and Hobson, acting on the advice of Williams, chose a position on the Waitemata River, which flows into Hauraki Gulf. Land was easily obtained from the natives, and on September 19th, 1840, the British flag was hoisted at Auckland and the Governor took up his residence there at the beginning of the next year. Though far from central, the position is,

from a commercial point of view, the finest in the Colony. Situated on what is little more than an isthmus, it is accessible both from east and west, it has every convenience for shipping, and for natural beauty it stands without peer among New Zealand cities. This step on the part of Hobson was regarded as a studied affront by the Company, for Wellington was certainly the geographical capital and it contained the population and enterprise which for some years could not be expected at Auckland. As in so many other details of the unhappy wrangle between Government and Company, both were right in certain respects. Hobson is justified by the fact that Auckland is now the most populous city in New Zealand, and the Company is justified by the fact that Wellington is now the capital as well as a thriving commercial centre.

Shortly before this a statute was passed by the Imperial Government erecting New Zealand into a separate colony. Hobson's title was changed to Governor, and a Legislative Council, consisting of the Governor and six nominees of the Colonial Office, was brought into existence. The powers of the Council were strictly limited, for no subject could be discussed unless introduced by the Governor, and all enactments were subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Executive consisted of the Colonial Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Treasurer, who also were members of the Legislative Council. In the Letters Patent issued proclaiming New Zealand a separate Colony, new names were given to the islands; the North Island was called New Ulster, the Middle Island, New Munster, and Stewart's Island, New Leinster;

titles which never emerged from the obscurity of official documents.

In August, 1840, Hobson's promptitude frustrated a projected French settlement at Akaroa. As previously related, Langlois, a French whaling skipper, claimed to have purchased almost the whole of Banks' Peninsula for a miscellaneous assortment of articles, including a tambour, guns, and old clothes, and was known to have left France in the *Comte de Paris* with fifty-seven settlers whom he intended to locate at Akaroa. In July the frigate *L'Aube* arrived at the Bay of Islands, and Hobson, suspecting her object, despatched Captain Owen Stanley in the *Britomart* to Akaroa, with instructions to anticipate any scheme for establishing a French Colony. The Queen's sovereignty had already been proclaimed over the Middle Island, but it was certainly prudent to take measures to prevent any complications that might arise out of the land claims of a French subject. The *Britomart*, although delayed by storms, had been anchored two days in Akaroa harbour before the *L'Aube* made her appearance. Lavaud, the French captain, accepted the position with a good grace. When the *Comte de Paris* arrived, her passengers, pending a settlement, were allowed to land at what is now called French Bay. In 1842 Lord Stanley decided that French claims to lands on Banks' Peninsula should be dealt with on the "same principle as if they had been an English Company." Although the land claims proved worthless on investigation, the English Government awarded the Nanto-Bordelaise Company a grant of land limited to 30,000 acres, but before the selection was made, the New Zealand Company bought up the property and interests of the French Company for £4,500.

With slight interruptions like the French attempt, Hobson was almost entirely occupied with land troubles. Land-sharking whether practised by companies or individuals had to be put down, but it was not easy to discover a principle of action that would be equitable to all the different claimants. Justice had to be done to men who had been long settled in the country and whose possessions were not contested by the Maoris, as well as to the speculators who claimed millions of acres on fictitious titles. Owing to the extent of its claims and its activity in colonising, the New Zealand Company was placed on a different footing from the individual claimants. In February, 1841, three months after Hobson was made Governor, it was granted a charter "for purchasing and acquiring, settling, improving, cultivating, letting, selling, granting, alienating, mortgaging, charging or otherwise dealing with and making a profit of lands, tenements, and hereditaments in our said Colony." The capital of the Company was fixed at £300,000, of which two-thirds was to be paid up within a year, on pain of forfeiting the charter. The Government committed itself to granting four acres of land for every pound proved to have been spent in purchasing land and promoting colonisation. This concession, the result of much negotiation, was obtained from Lord John Russell, who appointed an accountant, Mr. Pennington, to examine into the Company's claims and expenditure. His report showed that £249,256 had been spent on emigration and land purchase, and that, therefore, the Company would be entitled to over 900,000 acres; a conclusion which dismayed even Lord Russell himself and made him regret that he had not paid more regard to the vigorous attempts of Sir

George Gipps to limit the Company's claims. Shortly afterwards a change of ministry occurred, and Lord Stanley, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, repudiated the proposal of his predecessors, and announced that he had commissioned Mr. Spain to proceed to New Zealand with the object of extinguishing all purely native titles. This was a great blow to the Company. It had to submit, however, with more meekness than usual, for it had recently been caught red-handed in a somewhat discreditable transaction in connection with the Chatham Islands. In 1838 a number of Maoris fleeing from the vengeance of Rauparaha, found a refuge in these islands, where they killed or enslaved the original inhabitants. Two years later some of these Maoris returned to Wellington and agreed for a consideration to sell their conquest to Colonel Wakefield; and the directors in England endeavoured to resell their purchase to the Hamburg Colonisation Society. In the course of the negotiations a reference was made to the Imperial Government, which thus got wind of the project, and the result was a severe snubbing for the Company and a threat to deprive it of its charter for interfering with the royal prerogative.

The first Legislative Council, which met in May, 1841, passed a Crown Land Ordinance, on the model of the Act which Gipps had previously sought to apply to New Zealand. It enacted that no title would be admitted until approved by the Government; but it also stipulated that the Commissioners might, if they saw good reason, legalise previous purchases. At the same time Quarter Sessions and Courts of Request were established; and before the end of the year Chief Justice Martin and Attorney-General Swainson arrived at Auckland. Both of

these had much influence in shaping the early legislation of the Colony.

In the meantime the Agents of the Company pursued their course in spite of snubbings and hostile legislation. Late in 1840 a number of emigrants finding themselves cooped up to no purpose in Wellington, migrated to the river Wanganui, where they formed a settlement known then as "Petre." The land they proposed to take up was included in the second of Wakefield's so-called purchases; but as the whole district carried a large population of Maoris, who were by no means disposed to part with land, the settlers found themselves in a precarious position. During the same year an Association had been formed at Plymouth for forming a separate Colony in New Zealand. It bought from the New Zealand Company about 60,000 acres, and sent a surveyor to select a suitable locality for the venture. Taranaki was chosen and a number of emigrants, attracted by reports of the fertility of the soil, were "dumped down" on the surf-beaten shore opposite to the Sugar Loaves. The land had been almost depopulated in the late Maori wars, but Hobson dashed the emigrants' hope of undisputed possession by limiting settlement to a small area extending for ten miles along the coast and excluding the much-coveted Waitara district. Before this the Plymouth Association had been merged in the New Zealand Company, and the latter now used its great political influence to such effect that Hobson was compelled to increase the allowance of 110,000 acres at Port Nicholson made by Gipps so as to include an almost equal area at Wanganui and Taranaki.

The efforts of the Company did not end with these two settlements. In 1841 a proposal for establish-

ing a Colony on a large scale was adopted by the directors, who obtained permission to select 200,000 acres in any part of New Zealand which Hobson could be induced to approve. At first the Company thought of Banks' Peninsula and the Canterbury Plains, but Hobson strenuously opposed this suggestion and put forward the claims of the Thames and Waipa districts. Colonel Wakefield, scenting a plot to aggrandise the north at the expense of the south, refused to entertain the Governor's proposal, and threatened to take independent action "in virtue of the contract with the natives and others made antecedently to your arrival as Lieutenant-Governor." Hobson yielded and Wakefield thereupon selected Blind Bay which, on second consideration, seemed more suitable than Port Cooper. The first emigrants reached Blind Bay in April, 1841. On their way thither they had called at Kapiti, the stronghold of Rauparaha, who exhibited much concern at the coming of so many white men. On arriving at their destination a conference was held with the natives, who, after some debate, agreed, for the usual presents, to part with a certain amount of land, which was immediately surveyed and prepared for allotment among the settlers. Although it was soon discovered that the nature of the country precluded its subdivision on the chess-board plan indicated by the directors of the Company in England, the settlers had few complaints to make of the district. The climate was delightful, free from the boisterous winds that rage through the Straits; the harbour was excellent; and the sunny valleys, protected by mountains from the biting south, gladdened the heart of the gardener and small farmer. Captain Arthur Wakefield, brother of the Colonel, had

led the emigrants to this Land of Promise and remained there as resident agent.

In the meantime at Wellington, Wanganui, and Taranaki the Company's people were embroiling themselves with the natives and sowing the seeds which they afterwards had to reap as a whirlwind. At Wellington the Maoris complained that the settlers interfered with their cultivation patches, and threatened to make reprisals. An English boy was speared, for stealing the potatoes of the natives, it was said. When Hobson visited the township in August, 1841, several chiefs claimed protection against the Company's unscrupulous land-dealings. The two races, in fact, were on the verge of war, and the Governor's attitude embittered the white men without pacifying the Maoris. Then a Maori was found dead on the outskirts of the town, and the natives, believing the murder to be the work of a white man, claimed a life in compensation. When the incident was almost forgotten, a settler named Milne was tomahawked on the Petone road and so the feud grew bitterer. The burning of a native village was attributed to white men, and in retaliation the natives obstructed further settlement by pulling down huts erected on debatable ground. In these proceedings they showed a singular chivalry. They warned Colonel Wakefield that they would pull down houses built on lands they claimed, and in no case did they steal or injure the intruder's personal belongings. In the Hutt valley squabbles were of frequent occurrence. At Wanganui the settlers were threatened with forcible ejection if they occupied the land to which they considered themselves entitled, and in a short time were reduced to the greatest straits. The New Plymouth or Taranaki pioneers were in

equally bad case. Many of the Ngatiawa carried off into slavery by the Waikato had, owing to Christianity and other causes, been manumitted, and were now returning in hundreds to their ancient hunting-grounds, portion of which was occupied by white settlers, who were ruthlessly cutting down tapued trees for canoes. The returned fugitives were amazed and indignant. They at least had not been consulted and the land was theirs. Te Whero Whero, it is true, had conquered their country and disposed of his interest in it to Hobson for £400, but they failed to see any force in this argument. To put an end to the harassing disputes which were of daily occurrence, the settlers armed themselves and drove off a party of natives who had begun to recultivate land near the Waitara. Force was used on several occasions, but there was little actual fighting, for the returned slaves had lost some of their ancient spirit, and at first were merely troublesome. At Nelson a quarrel arose over the question of coal and lime which the settlers had discovered at Massacre Bay. The natives denied having sold the land on which these minerals were found and at night replaced the coal dug out during the day by the white labourers. A chief was arrested and sentenced to pay a fine. He refused to pay, and would have been imprisoned had not his wife paid the fine for him. These successes elated the colonists and made them regard the Maoris as turbulent bullies who would collapse at the sight of force. The superior settlers, unlike the whalers and pakehas, were inclined to treat the natives with the contempt that had become traditional in dealing with savage races. Later experience, bought with much blood and suffering, changed this contempt into respect.

Racial troubles were not confined to the settlements round Cook Straits. Hobson also had difficulties in the North. There, however, they were generally caused by ignorance of native customs or by the imprudence or crimes of individual settlers. The removal of the seat of government from the Bay of Islands to Auckland was the death-blow to the importance of Kororareka, and both the native and European inhabitants of the district were loud in their complaints. The application, guarded though it was, of English law to Maoris, seemed likely at one time to produce excitement and distrust. In 1842 a Maori youth named Maketu murdered, in a fit of temper, a white man, who was a fellow-servant in the same house. The deed was provoked by the harshness of the white man; but Maketu in order, apparently, to cover up all traces of the crime, murdered the whole family, consisting of a widow and three children, and, after setting fire to the house, proceeded to his father's village where he related what he had done. His people shortly afterwards delivered him up to the magistrate. He was taken to Auckland and condemned to death. During his trial the Court was crowded with natives, and the execution was witnessed by still greater numbers. They admitted the justice of the sentence, but expressed horror at the cold-blooded manner in which it was carried out. Their own method in such cases was, indeed, much more humane, the criminal being rendered insensible by a sudden and unexpected blow on the head which relieved him of life without entailing upon him days and weeks of mental suffering. An event which occurred in the same year seemed to afford the Governor a good opportunity of dealing a blow at the practice of

cannibalism. Between a tribe in the Thames district and the people of Tauranga there was a blood-feud of long standing, and Taraia, chief of the Thames tribe, on receiving an insulting letter from the people of Tauranga, immediately organised a war-party, and falling suddenly upon the pa at Tauranga, completed the slaughter of his enemies by a cannibal feast. On the return journey these fine old barbarians desecrated the church in a Christian settlement which they passed. One old man tore prayer-books with his teeth, put out his tongue at the Christian natives, and stretching wide his arms, cried aloud, "When will Christ your God come to save those of you who have been cooked in the oven? What is your God?—all lies." When tidings of these doings reached Auckland, it was decided to despatch a body of soldiers to seize Taraia, but that chieftain being informed of the Governor's intention, wrote him a letter in which he pertinently asked what relation the Governor was to the murdered men that he should seek to interfere in a native quarrel. He was willing to make compensation provided the Tauranga natives compensated him also for the murder of his relations. Anyhow an attempt to arrest him would only make matters worse. The frankness and good sense of this appeal were not lost upon the Governor and his advisers, and, instead of soldiers, a party of missionaries was sent to the Thames.

On the 10th of September, 1842, Hobson died of paralysis, a disease which overtook him shortly after his arrival in New Zealand. His sufferings had been increased by the anxieties and annoyances of his position; yet oppressed as he was by the difficulties of establishing a government in a barbarous

country, pursued by the implacable enmity of the New Zealand Company, and smarting under the gad-fly attacks of an often scurrilous press, he stuck bravely to his post until death relieved him. He was an honourable gentleman, resolute in carrying out what he conceived to be his duty, yet wanting in tact and in largeness of mind. To the Maoris he was generous and sympathetic, and it was a great thing to have won their confidence. At his death a Maori chief wrote to the Queen: "Let not the new Governor be a boy or one puffed up. Let not a troubler come amongst us. Let him be a good man like the Governor who has just died." To the settlers he was less considerate. He came with two fixed ideas—to crush the land-sharks and to protect the natives. He never got away from the letter of his instructions and thereby rendered colonisation impossible except in defiance of him. The blame was not all his. He was but the too conscientious servant of masters in Downing Street who, in the utter absence of a vigorous Imperial policy, substituted one makeshift for another, according as they were actuated by a *blasé* unconcern or by gusts of quixotic sentimentalism.

At the time of Hobson's death bankruptcy stared the Government in the face. The revenue was derived chiefly from customs dues and sales of lands; but of the £50,000 raised in 1842 only £11,000 came from the sale of Crown Lands. The exports amounted to £18,000 and the imports to £166,000. As yet there were no industries save whaling and timber getting: but although most of the settlers were still living on their capital, they were far from idle. Sheep, cattle, and horses were being rapidly introduced; pigs already abounded, pork and pota-

toes forming the chief articles of food both among Maoris and white men. When they could forget the miserable land question, the pioneers found life almost enjoyable. Race meetings had already been held at the principal settlements, and balls and dinner parties were not uncommon, the guests stumbling, lantern in hand, through half-cleared "bush" or along narrow Maori paths, to the place of meeting. In the daily life the formalities of the old world went out of fashion. Blue shirts were the common wear. In this free and easy pioneer life disease and crime were almost unknown. The doctors who found their way to New Zealand were in those days little in demand, and were forced to turn their attention to more profitable ways of making a livelihood.

The white population was something over 10,000. Wellington headed the list of settlements with 3701; Auckland with 2895, and Nelson with 2500 came next; Kororareka, or Russell as it was now called, had dwindled down into a mere hamlet with less than 400 inhabitants. Three-fourths of the settlers were thus located in the Cook's Straits settlements. These were for the most part the Company's people and were socially superior to those who gathered around Hobson at Auckland.

CHAPTER XII.

THE WAIRAU MASSACRE AND AFTER.

On Hobson's death Lieutenant Shortland became Acting-Governor, a position which, in those days of slow-travelling news, he was obliged to hold for more than a year. It was no sinecure. Even had Shortland's ability been equal to his vanity, it would have been difficult to avoid the innumerable pitfalls which lay in his path. At the very outset of his rule, he was saved from blundering into a Maori war only by the strenuous protests of Selwyn and Martin, and also, it must be added, by the Attorney-General's skilful misreading of the law. The occasion was this: A Maketu chief, named Tangaroa, had allowed his crew to eat sacred potatoes growing on the graves of those Tauranga people whom Taraia had slain. Tangaroa's vessel was captured and one of his relations killed as a punishment for this violation of *tapu*. The chief himself, with the remainder of the crew, escaped in a trading schooner which they stole from its anchorage at Tauranga, and in which they afterwards made an expedition against Mayor Island, where they killed and ate the inhabitants, a section of the Tauranga people. At this juncture Shortland arrived at Tauranga and resolved to punish the Maketu natives for their cannibalism as well as for the theft of the schooner. The Government brig was sent to Auckland and returned with a party of soldiers and three guns; but, luckily, be-

fore a shot was fired, the pacific counsels of Bishop Selwyn and Chief Justice Martin, who had just come from Maketu, induced the Governor to stay his hand; and when Swainson asserted that Mayor Island was not in the Colony and that Tangaroa having never ceded his sovereignty to the Queen could not be legally arrested, the warlike project was finally abandoned. Swainson's reading of constitutional law gave umbrage to Lord Stanley, who wrote that a gentleman holding such opinions could not be allowed to "act as a public officer." This was severe, but the Attorney-General was not removed from his post.

Some time before this the Land Commissioners, after vexatious delays, had begun their labours, Spain in the Cook's Straits settlements, and Richmond and Godfrey in the north. Over a thousand claims were referred to the latter gentlemen, who in May, 1843, reported that a settlement had been arrived at in regard to about half of these cases. Many of the land-sharks made no attempt to substantiate claims they had formerly put forward; those who were bold enough to come into Court made, in most cases, but a poor justification of their titles, and suffered a ruthless reduction of their claims. Among these were many Church of England missionaries who had been loud in their outcry against Wakefield's "thievish" land transactions. Their claims amounted to over 200,000 acres, one gentleman alone having obtained 50,000 acres, which he had taken over, so he averred, for the purpose of putting an end to a tribal war. Wesleyans and Roman Catholics had had the good sense to refrain, and among the Anglicans also there were a few individuals who had kept their hands clean. The missionary claims were

cut down to 66,713 acres, but the revelation of their worldliness did not diminish the bitter feeling which existed between them and the Company. The appointment by Hobson of a catechist, George Clarke, as Protector of the Aborigines, was ill-advised, for it gave ground for suspicion that much of the obstruction made by the Maoris to land occupation was traceable to his partisan influence.

Commissioner Spain, who adjudicated upon the Company's claims, had a much more delicate task. He appears to have been a man of much ability, who, within the limits of his instructions, strove to deal out justice with impartial hands; but the delay in sending him and the length of time taken by the inquiries had exasperated the agents of the Company as well as the settlers. The former were something lacking in courtesy, and pursued at times a tortuous path of intrigue which in the end damaged their cause. Worried by directors, weary of an unprofitable speculation, bullied by a suspicious government, which had no sympathy with the work of colonisation, and harassed by the complaints of settlers, who were tired of waiting to be put in possession of their promised lands, their lot was far from enviable. It can scarcely be a matter of surprise that they took the bit between their teeth or kicked over the traces of legislation. Finally they got themselves entangled in a squabble with Rauparaha and Rangihaeata over the possession of the Wairau Valley, a fertile tract of country in the north-east of the Middle Island. The chiefs denied having sold the land, which they claimed by right of conquest, and when Captain Wakefield sent surveyors from Nelson, the natives warned them off and set fire to the huts they erected. Wakefield then decided to use more forcible meas-

ures with these "travelling bullies." Instead of waiting for Mr. Spain, who was on the eve of setting out for the Wairau, he took out, with imprudent haste, a warrant for the arrest of Rauparaha on a charge of arson; and accompanied by Police Magistrate Thompson and fifty armed settlers, landed at the mouth of the Wairau. After proceeding inland some miles, they found themselves confronted by Rauparaha and his followers, who had taken up a strong position, with a deep creek in front and a wood behind. In the midst of a Babel of talk the magistrate explained his errand. Rauparaha naturally declined to surrender himself as a prisoner, and an attempt to seize him led to a confused scuffle in which a settler's gun went off, by accident it was said, wounding a female servant of Rangihaeata. This was the signal for a sharp fight in which thirteen of the settlers fell before the Maori muskets. Terrified by this loss, the majority took to their heels; Captain Wakefield and eight others, who scorned flight, were taken prisoners and tomahawked by the ferocious Rangihaeata. Fearing reprisals, Rauparaha withdrew across the Straits to Otaki, where he exhibited in triumph the handcuffs that had been intended for his own wrists. In this unfortunate fray twenty-two settlers lost their lives. The news of the massacre filled the colonists with mingled panic and fury. Petitions were prepared calling for troops to wreak vengeance on the perpetrators of the deed. In response to these demands a few soldiers were sent to Wellington and a man-of-war to Nelson; but two police magistrates refused to issue warrants for the arrest of the chiefs, and when some unpaid magistrates at Nelson signed a warrant, nobody could be got to "bell the cat."

Spain visited Rauparaha and told him that the dispute would be decided by the Crown, and Shortland contented himself with promising an inquiry.

News of the victory, for such it was, spread like wild-fire among the Maoris, and as usual in such cases lost nothing in the telling. The *mana* of the English received a severe blow; Rauparaha became the hero of the tribes, and many a chief was filled with a desire to emulate his exploits. "Is Rauparaha," said one of them, "to have all the honour of killing the white men?" In their then mood a false step would have kindled war from the North Cape to Cook's Straits.

Shortland did nothing, and his inactivity, if it cannot be called masterly, was at least prudent. His successor was on the way from England and he was beset with financial worries. The revenue was decreasing—the land sales, from which so much had been expected, realised in 1843 a paltry £1600; and the expenditure had grown to such an extent that the government was now £20,000 in debt. In this desperate plight Shortland, after trying in vain to raise £15,000 in Sydney at 15 per cent., drew bills on the Lords of the Treasury, but only to have them dishonoured. He was no doubt glad to hand over the government to Captain Fitzroy, who arrived in November, 1843, and who thought fit to cover him with insult. He resigned his position as Colonial Secretary and was consoled by being made Governor of the Island of Nevis in the West Indies.

Fitzroy's arrival at Auckland was, to quote Dr. Thomson, "eminently ridiculous. A gentleman connected with the native department, carried a pole surmounted with a crown of flax, from which waved the New Zealand flag; and Captain Fitzroy,

excited by the occasion, cried aloud, when stepping on shore, 'I have come among you to do all the good I can.' The crowd of fifty persons replied to this noble sentiment with a cheer, and the commanding officer of the company of soldiers in attendance shouted, 'Quick march;' immediately the two drummer-boys and the fifes of the guard of honour struck up 'The King of the Cannibal Islands,' to which appropriate air His Excellency marched to Government House." With the best intentions in the world, Fitzroy was ill-fitted to deal with the "sea of troubles" that was awaiting him in New Zealand. A sailor of uncertain temper, ignorant of the rudiments of administration and of the conditions of Colonial life, energetic but tactless, he succeeded in making confusion worse confounded. Everywhere he found the settlers angry and dissatisfied and the Maoris insolent with recent successes. At Auckland the white people complained of financial depression and laid all their troubles at the door of the Government, and the natives presented addresses in which they lamented the high price of tobacco and the restriction which forbade them to sell land. Obviously this last complaint was merely local and smacks somewhat too plainly of pakeha inspiration. In January, 1844, the Governor sailed for the Cook's Strait settlements. At the levée held at Wellington the colonists abused the Maoris and the Maoris complained of the misdeeds of the settlers. The latter, in their address, referred in strong language to the massacre and to the fact that the perpetrators, instead of being brought to justice, had been "treated as innocent or injured parties;" statements which were received by the Governor with an explosion of wrath. He roundly abused

Jerningham Wakefield and others for their alleged hatred of the Maoris. Then passing over to Nelson, he scolded the magistrates who had signed the warrant for the arrest of Rauparaha. "The natives," he informed them, "had never sold the Wairau;" the hut which had been burned was built on their ground and of materials belonging to them; "consequently no arson was committed, and therefore the warrant was illegal." These were the words of a bitter partisan, not of a peacemaker desiring to hold the balance true between English and Maoris. At Kapiti he met Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, and after listening to the former's account of the massacre and its causes, rebuked them for murdering the men who surrendered, but assured them that as the Europeans were first in the wrong, he would not avenge their deaths, and concluded by urging them to seek the advice of their missionaries and protectors. It is easy to imagine the effect of these senseless doings. To the Maoris the Governor's clemency was another name for weakness, and they became more boastful than ever. The colonists, at first stupefied by what seemed to them the insanity of the Governor's words and actions, gave themselves up to bitter hatred of the natives and indulged in the gloomiest forebodings. Their *mana* was gone and they realised that they had ceased to be the dominant race. Their settlements were defenceless; an attack in force could have swept them into the sea. Men acquainted with native customs knew that, although from his point of view Rauparaha was justified in slaughtering the settlers who sought to arrest him, the failure to exact punishment could only be regarded by the Maoris as the result of fear and cowardice. "You white

people," said a chief, "are very good for building houses and ships, for buying and selling, for making cattle fat, and for growing bread and cabbages; you are like rats, always at work, but as to fighting, you are like them also, you only know how to run." The missionaries may have felt pleasure in seeing their countrymen and themselves humbled in this manner; but laymen outside of government circles were furious; they recognised clearly now that when a barbarian has smitten one cheek, to turn to him the other is to court first contempt and then extinction, which, from an ethical point of view, can scarcely be good for anybody.

Fitzroy, however, committed himself to a policy of more or less blind conciliation. When a native at Auckland, sentenced to imprisonment for theft, was forcibly released by a chief named Kawau, the Governor pocketed the affront and altered the law so as to make compensation the punishment for thieving among the Maoris. At another time this might have passed as reasonably good policy. The Auckland natives complained again that the Government would neither purchase land nor allow private persons to buy direct from themselves. The Governor immediately gave permission to buy land direct from the natives, on condition, however, that the purchaser gave ten shillings an acre to the Government. This concession, however, pleased nobody. The land speculators found the condition so hard that only small quantities of land were bought, and consequently Maoris clamouring to sell were no better off than before. The Conservative party among the Maoris, moreover, regarded the change as an infraction of the Treaty of Waitangi. It was then determined to bring a little moral suasion to bear on

the Governor. Accordingly the Auckland Maoris invited the Waikato tribes to a feast to be given about two miles from Auckland. Immense quantities of food were collected for the occasion: 11,000 baskets of potatoes, 900 sharks, 100 full-grown pigs, not to mention wheat, tobacco, and other sundries. The Governor was invited to be present to witness a war-dance performed by sixteen hundred Maoris armed with muskets and tomahawks. This display of force dismayed the white community and helped to draw from Fitzroy the "penny an acre proclamation," which authorised the purchase of land from the natives on payment of a penny an acre to the Government. Under this regulation the Maoris disposed of thousands of acres, many of the purchasers, however, having afterwards to disgorge when Grey appeared on the scene.

In the meantime complications had arisen in Taranaki, and the Governor's anxiety to do all the good in his power tied matters into a knot that only the sword could undo. The Commissioners had awarded the settlers at New Plymouth 60,000 acres, but the rapidly returning Ngatiawa had no intention to abide by this decision. Plucking up courage from the obvious weakness of the Government, these emancipated slaves bullied the farmers, and jeered at them in true Maori fashion. Life had never been pleasant for the Taranaki emigrants: Fitzroy now made it unbearable. He cancelled Spain's award and confined the colonists to 3200 acres in the neighbourhood of the Sugar Loaves: an almost incredible act of folly, inspired by the worthiest motives, but none the less an act of folly.

Having done more than justice to truculent natives —for their attitude at this period, thanks to the pol-

icy of conciliation at Taranaki, Wellington and elsewhere, can only be described as truculent—Fitzroy returned to Auckland to find that a pretty storm was brewing at the Bay of Islands. The order for recall had already gone forth, but before it could reach him the storm had burst. As related in the last chapter Kororareka had sunk into insignificance; trade languished, ruined it was said by the imposition of customs duties, which also increased the price of tobacco and blankets, a great grievance with the Maoris. Kororareka grumbled and asked for the abolition of customs. The Governor removed them; and when outcry arose for a similar concession at other settlements, he abolished customs all round, and in order to meet an accumulating deficit, issued paper money. But conciliate as he would, it was impossible to appease the discontent of the Ngapuhi, now under the leadership of Hone Heke, the son-in-law of Hongi. Though not a great warrior, nor highly born, his marriage gave him prestige, and a shrewd turn for diplomacy and the blunders of the Government made him as great a power in the north as Rauparaha was in the south. At one time he professed to be a devout Christian, but soon relapsed into a paganism which resolved itself into an undying hatred of the white men. On a hill overlooking the township of Kororareka was a flagstaff, from which fluttered the flag of England, and to which signal balls were attached. The Maoris, instructed, it is said, by a designing Yankee beachcomber, had grown to believe that this flagstaff represented the Queen's sovereignty and was the cause of the depression they complained of. Anyhow it formed a good target for the insolence of Hone Heke's braves. They marched into town, plundered

a few stores, in retaliation for the non-payment of ransom by a man named Lord, whose wife Heke had stolen, and then cut down and burned the flagstaff. This was in July, 1844. Alarmed by this act of aggression, Fitzroy got together the few troops he had and others he had procured from Australia and sent them to the Bay of Islands. He himself followed in a warship. Before hostilities could begin several chiefs, led by the friendly Waka Nene, asked the Governor to suspend action, undertaking if the Governor would abolish the customs to have the flagstaff replaced and to keep Heke in order. Fitzroy hastened to accept this offer and ten muskets which Heke sent as compensation for the injury done, and which the Governor with quixotic generosity returned to the giver. Relying upon the promise of Waka Nene, he withdrew all the troops and flattered himself that the trouble was over; but Nene, though a faithful ally, reckoned without his host when he undertook to be keeper of the peace. The flagstaff was erected in its place, but Heke's turbulent followers still continued their insults and depredations. Recently they had received a new cause of grievance. News had reached the Colony that an English Parliamentary Committee had commented unfavourably on the Treaty of Waitangi, and this news, circulated among the Maoris, increased the general ferment and gave Heke a pretext for further violence. The flagstaff was again cut down and the property of two settlers destroyed. Thereupon the Governor offered a reward for the capture of Heke, and the latter, not to be outdone, offered a similar reward for the head of the Governor. "Is Heke a pig," he cried, "that he should be bought and sold?" The flagpole was erected for a third time, sheathed in iron and pro-

tected by a stockade within which a party of soldiers was left on guard; but these precautions merely increased Heke's determination to destroy the hated symbol of foreign authority. He announced his intention of attacking it. The white inhabitants armed and drilled; blockhouses were erected; soldiers guarded the flagstaff; and the captain of the *Hazard* posted a gun to command the approach to the town. In the meantime the missionaries exerted themselves to keep the peace: one of them went to the Maori camp and preached from the text "Whence come wars and fightings," and at the conclusion of the sermon Heke suggested that the missionary should deliver the same discourse to the English camp. On March the 11th (1845) the threatened attack was made. The defenders of the flag, divided by a stratagem, were routed and the pole cut down. Robertson, the captain of the *Hazard,* repulsed the main attack, but was seriously wounded. The Maoris had already hoisted a flag of truce, when the blowing up of the powder magazine created a panic among the civilians. It was decided to evacuate the township, and then began a *sauve qui peut* which astonished the Maoris congregated on the hills around. Amid indescribable confusion, the boats of the *Hazard* and the United States corvette *St. Louis* removed the terror-stricken inhabitants to the ships. Bishop Selwyn exposed himself fearlessly to the fire of the enemy in his endeavours to rescue women and children, and to care for the wounded. Presently the Maoris trooped with joyous yells into the forsaken township, and looted everything worth looting, and then a house taking fire, a conflagration completed the destruction of Kororareka.

When the refugees arrived at Auckland, the con-

sternation of the capital was extreme. Wild rumours got abroad. Heke with his victorious warriors was expected in Auckland the next full moon. Settlers in outlying districts abandoned everything and huddled into town or, in disgust, left the Colony altogether. Some preparations were made to resist an attack; the barracks were entrenched, earthworks thrown up, and some hundreds of men armed and practised in drill; but a time of wild alarms followed. At Wellington and Nelson similar precautions were taken, stockades being formed and militia enrolled. In these circumstances the Governor sent to Australia for more troops, and to the Legislative Council hastily assembled he confessed that the present difficulties were not due to custom duties, which were levied once more, instead of the property tax which the Wellington settlers had point blank refused to pay. Meanwhile Hone Heke and Kawiti, his brother conspirator, somewhat alarmed at the crisis they had brought about, instead of attacking Auckland, had their canoes dragged inland and retired to Okaihau, a *pa* belonging to Kawiti. Early in May 400 troops under Colonel Hulme, with a native contingent of the same number under Waka Nene, advanced through the forest, along a rain-sodden track which led to the pa. It was a dismal march, rain falling in torrents, and four days elapsed before the bedraggled soldiers found themselves in front of Okaihau. The pa, situated on a narrow plateau, with a forest in the rear, was protected by palisades and a ditch which effectually screened the enemy and protected them from rifle fire. Colonel Hulme having no artillery, fired a few rockets, which inspired only a momentary terror and did no damage. Then the Maoris, in contempt of

these efforts, issued from their stronghold and, armed with long-handled tomahawks, made a daring sortie, which was only repulsed by the bayonet with a loss to the soldiers of fourteen killed and thirty-nine wounded. Deeming the place impregnable without artillery, Hulme retreated, his wounded being carried in litters constructed by the native allies. His arrival in Auckland, with news of his own defeat, created something like stupefaction among the colonists. Heke's men, more than ever vain-glorious and boastful, fell foul of our allies under Waka Nene, and Heke himself received a bullet wound which prevented his taking part in the next campaign. Before guns and reinforcements arrived from Sydney, his forces had been withdrawn to Oheawai, where a strong *pa* had been constructed. It was flanked on either side by a ravine, and was encircled by triple palisades, the innermost consisting of tree-trunks fifteen feet high and more than a foot thick. Ditches serving as rifle pits were excavated between the palisades, and, inside the *pa*, the huts were partly underground. On the 23rd of June Colonel Despard, who had replaced Hulme, arrived before this formidable entrenchment. His force consisted of 630 men and four guns, and the native allies numbered about 250; the defenders could only muster 250 men, armed with double and single barrelled guns. The big guns opened fire at short range and pounded away at the palisades for several days, but though aided by a thirty-two pounder from a warship. little damage was done, except to the outer row of palisades. Colonel Despard considering the breach practicable, ordered an assault, and 200 men, led by Lieutenant Philpott, R.N., rushed against the stockade, but finding the inner wall still intact, they

were forced to retire, leaving half their number dead or wounded on the field. As the besiegers sat around their camp fires that night they heard, mingled with the exultant shouts of the Maori warriors, the agonising screams of a captured comrade, tortured with burning Kauri gum. For some days, pending the arrival of more ammunition, the besiegers remained inactive, and when the bombardment was again resumed it was found that the enemy had made a midnight flitting. The *pa* was now empty, save for howling dogs left behind on purpose to divert attention from the retreat. It was a useless victory, for the enemy had escaped and the loss of their *pa* was of little consequence. Such as it was, it furnished Mr. George Clarke, Protector of the Aborigines, with an opportunity for urging the cessation of hostilities, and the Governor, accepting these counsels of humiliation, ordered an armistice and withdrew the troops to the Bay of Islands. It is little to be wondered at that the press of the Colony was unanimous in its disapproval of this policy of philanthropic shilly-shally, which, while it did nothing to relieve the financial strain, encouraged the disaffection of the natives by damaging the prestige of the English. It was a relief to all when Captain George Grey took over the reins of government. Bishop Selwyn said that Fitzroy was "the man who lost Kororareka, but saved New Zealand;" if he saved New Zealand, it was only by creating a crisis which necessitated the presence of a strong governor, who had already a reputation for extracting colonies from difficulties.

CHAPTER XIII.

GOVERNOR GREY.

Captain George Grey arrived in Auckland on November the 14th, 1845. His appointment by the Colonial Office covers up a multitude of sins. Still a young man—he was only thirty-two—Grey had shown marked ability in dealing with the financial troubles of South Australia. His autocratic rule, especially the drastic retrenchments which he carried out, had at first earned him the violent hatred of the Adelaide settlers, but when he left to become Governor of New Zealand, time had justified his policy and his bitterest opponents regretted his departure. Moreover, he was reputed to have much tact and skill in dealing with native races; a reputation which his after career did not belie. Courteous, sympathetic, farseeing, resolute, Captain Grey was the very man for the work in hand. At his coming he found an empty exchequer, sullen and discontented colonists, and the Maoris of the North still unconquered, whilst those in the neighborhood of Cook's Straits were as troublesome as they could well be without actually declaring war. Among Grey's first acts were the withdrawal of Fitzroy's debentures, the cancelling of the "penny an acre" proclamation, and the passing of an ordinance prohibiting the sale of fire-arms to the natives. Then he turned his attention to the northern rebels. Heke and Kawiti were given a certain time in which to de-

cide for peace or war, and as their replies were not satisfactory, Colonel Despard was ordered to take the field against them. He had under him 1200 troops, well supplied with artillery, and was accompanied by the Governor. The force directed its march against the strongly fortified *pa* of Ruapekapeka, which was situated sixteen miles inland. It was a larger and stronger replica of Ohaeawai, and the defenders numbered about 500. On the last day of the year (1845) the guns opened fire and continued to pound away at the palisades for more than a week. On the 10th of January two small breaches were made, but a fortunate discovery obviated an assault which, as on former occasions, might have been attended with great loss of life. The next day was a Sunday, and the garrison, supposing that there would be a cessation of hostilities, occupied themselves in one of the outworks of the pa in cooking and praying. Some of our native allies with a detachment of soldiers crept up to the stockade and meeting no resistance, entered by way of the breaches. A few natives left on guard opened fire and a desperate struggle ensued within the pa, the Maoris trying hard to regain possession of their stronghold. Their efforts were fruitless and seeing that the game was up, they broke and fled. Ruapekapeka, the Bat's Nest, was demolished, and Heke and Kawiti, deserted by their followers, wrote to the Governor that they were "full." The insurrection was at an end and Grey was able, without risk, to pardon all the chiefs. Waka Nene was granted a pension for his aid in the war. The rebels themselves soon buried the hatchet, for they had found in Grey a master who knew when to conciliate and when to be firm.

Meanwhile in the south, disputes about land were rapidly approaching a climax. Although Fitzroy had paid £300 to Rauparaha and Rangihaeata for the purchase of the Hutt valley, the natives refused to quit, and subjected the settlers to every kind of annoyance and insult. A raid, in which many of the settlers were plundered, brought Colonel Hulme with 300 soldiers into the district, but as the Maoris retired to the hills, nothing could be done except leave a portion of the troops to protect the settlers. On Grey's arrival at Wellington this force was increased, but it was not allowed to take any active measures: it merely kept the natives from their cultivation grounds and so cut off their food supplies. In consequence of these tactics many of them were obliged to retire inland. After a time, however, disturbances broke out again; settlers were murdered and a party of soldiers was surprised and routed at a farm in the Hutt valley. Other successes raised the spirit of the natives, and the colonists, who had now armed and erected stockades, were clamorous to put an end to a condition of affairs that was becoming intolerable. It was asserted that the wily Rauparaha, though protesting his friendship, was the real instigator of the Maori raids, and Grey having satisfied himself that this suspicion was well founded, resolved on a bold measure. Without warning, he landed before dawn 130 soldiers, sailors, and police at Rauparaha's village, and capturing the chief in his bed, carried him, biting and struggling, on board ship. Some men complained that the kidnapping was an act of wanton treachery. Its effects, however, were magical; for it deprived the Maori agitation of its brain. The Maoris themselves were amazed at the cleverness of the man who

could weave a web capable of entoiling the great Rauparaha, into whose thoughts and projects none hitherto had dived. The capture of Ruapekapeka and the seizure of the chief had restored the white man's *mana*. Rangihaeata, thirsting for blood, yet fearing to fall into the web of the spider, fled from his stronghold at Pahautanui, and none too soon for the soldiers were on his track. They chased him to the hills, and though they failed in one attack the want of food compelled his followers to break up into small parties and make their way into the interior. About the same time Te Heu Heu with fifty-four followers was entombed by a landslip. The finger of God seemed to be in these misfortunes, but the fugitives from the Wellington districts, so far from being disheartened, stirred to revolt the Wanganui and Taupo tribes, who were easily persuaded to take up the cause. Soldiers were sent to Wanganui to protect the settlers from threatened attack. The accidental shooting of a Maori by a midshipman precipitated matters: blood for blood was the Maori law, and the wife and children of a settler were chosen as the victims. The murderers, seized by some friendlies, were tried by court-martial and shot. Then on May 15th (1847) an attack was made on the settlement, the inhabitants of which had taken refuge in a stockade. The township was plundered, and cattle were carried off, but the defenders of the stockade beat off their opponents with considerable loss. The garrison was soon reinforced, but with the exception of a few sallies, it was content to blockade the river and keep the natives at a distance from the stockade. This method of warfare was unexpected by the Maoris, and as the river blockade was maintained, they began to weary

of a conflict which meant little glory and a dearth of such luxuries as tobacco and pipes. In February (1848) the principal chiefs handed in their submission.

The conflict for the time being was at an end. With the exception of hanging "Martin Luther," a Wellington rebel, Grey used his victory with moderation. Martin Luther was a Christian native who had joined Rangihaeata against the Government. His only crime was that he was found with the "rebels," and it is somewhat difficult to understand on what ground his execution could be justified. Had the intention been to show the determination of the Governor to put an end to the murder of settlers, it would have been better to have made an example of some one more blood-guilty than Luther. So much sympathy was felt for him, that it was not easy to find a hangman. The soldier who, for a purse of sovereigns, was induced to put the rope round his neck, was drowned eighteen months afterwards, a fate which the superstitious connected with the hanging of Martin Luther. In spite of this mistaken and unfortunate severity, Grey was on the whole extremely humane in his dealings with the natives.

Few English proconsuls, indeed, have had such an instinctive understanding of savage character or have known so well when to exercise leniency. At Wellington even before the capture of Rauparaha and the withdrawal of Rangihaeata, numbers of natives had been employed to assist a company of soldiers in making a road to Porirua, and the association proved in every way a success. Rangihaeata himself, though a stout opponent of pakeha civilisation, was at length converted by Grey to take a prac-

tical interest in roads. The Governor sent him a pony and trap, with which the "fine old barbarian" was greatly delighted. The sea beach near his pa was covered with hard sand which made an excellent drive; but between the pa and the sea was a piece of rough ground over which, in its natural state, it was impossible to drive. Throwing consistency to the winds, the chief turned his men out to make a roadway, and thereafter was to be seen every afternoon enjoying a drive along the sand.

There are still some who blame Grey for the kidnapping of Rauparaha. It is said that there was no evidence for supposing that he was plotting against the Government, and that the Governor's method of seizing him was treacherous and undignified. However that may be, it is clear that the removal of Rauparaha was an important step in the direction of peace. Although he pined in captivity, his treatment was far from severe. After being kept for nearly a year in a warship, he was allowed to occupy a native house in the Auckland domain, where he was visited in September 1847 by 200 chiefs, anxious to show their respect for so great a leader. He made a speech in which he referred to his own doings in war and his capture by the Governor, and for a time seemed to forget the degradation under which he lay, but when two Maori women chanted his heroic deeds and lamented his fate, the old man broke down and wept freely. In January 1848, he was allowed to return to Otaki, a free man once more, but broken in spirit and conscious that his influence was gone. Before his death he professed himself a convert to Christianity, but if the story told by Dr. Thomson can be relied on, his faith could only have been skin deep. "A few days before his death

(November 27th, 1849) a settler called to see him; while there a neighbouring clergyman came in and offered him religious consolation. Rauparaha demeaned himself in a manner highly becoming such an occasion, and when the missionary had gone, he turned to the other visitor and said, 'What is the use of all that nonsense? It will do my belly no good.' He then changed the subject to the Wanganui races, where one of his guests was running a horse."

For his service in restoring peace Grey was made a Knight Commander of the Bath. On his investiture he chose Waka Nene and Te Puni to be his esquires, a graceful act which a chivalrous people like the Maoris were not slow to appreciate. Numbers of the rank and file of our native allies were enrolled as policemen, and otherwise rewarded for their loyalty. The native policy which Sir George Grey now set himself to carry out did not always meet with the approval of the colonists, but tentative though it was, it restored confidence and secured peace. Having suppressed rebellion with a firm hand, he endeavoured to conciliate the Maoris by strict justice and by adherence to pledges which the Government had made to them in the Treaty of Waitangi. At his coming he had swept aside Fitzroy's land legislation; he had restricted the sale of firearms and liquor, and at a later date he modified the law in dealing with civil suits between Maori and Maori, for he recognised that the application of English law to savages was about as preposterous as Busby's dream of a Maori parliament. Magistrates were appointed in certain districts to deal with native disputes and were assisted by native assessors. Not the least of his reforms was the establishment of

native schools, which in many districts tended to promote industry and civilisation. By establishing hospitals he struck a blow at native witchcraft and superstition. His whole aim, in fact, was to win the sympathy of the Maoris and to put them in a position to understand and appreciate the new order of things. In this work the scheming of a singularly resourceful brain was aided by the personal magnetism which he possessed to an unusual degree. His English pride was not too stiff to bend to the humours of a barbarian chivalry. It is related of him that once he ran a race with a Maori chief, and won. On another occasion, when he and Selwyn were tramping in the Taupo region, their provisions ran short. In this strait they came across the house of a Maori chief, but finding it shut, Grey, much against Selwyn's wish, forced the door, and helped himself and the bishop to the contents of the cupboard. To Selwyn's protest he replied: "Oh no, I know the chief who owns the place and he would give us part of himself." When the chief returned next day, Grey informed him of their burglary and received for answer: "Well, that was like true friends, and I'm so glad you did it." From the first he had set himself to study their language, customs, and legends; and his "Polynesian Mythology" remains to this day the standard work on Maori lore. Yet courteous and sympathetic though he always was, none knew better how to extinguish the bully. A Maori had been punished at Auckland for theft and the people of his tribe got ready their war canoes to take *utu* upon Auckland. Grey summoned the military pensioners settled on the outskirts of the town, and ordered a warship, anchored in the harbour, to proceed to sea and to return in

time to block the retreat of the canoes. These preparations were made quietly and without fuss; and when the warriors arrived and had dragged their canoes ashore, they found themselves encircled by troops. Caught in a trap, they sent their leader to Grey, who witnessed the sport from an adjoining hill, to ask him what he proposed to do. "How could you be so foolish?" asked the Governor. "I had thought you a wise fellow." The chief agreed to go, but asked to be allowed to wait until the tide came up. But Grey was obdurate: they must depart immediately. So the Ngatipoa, amid much good-natured chaff from the onlookers, were forced to haul their heavy canoes over the beach to the sea, when the Governor relented so far as to permit them to lodge over night at a neighbouring pa. Next day they left a penitent letter and departed in peace.

Perhaps the knottiest problem Grey had to deal with was in connection with the introduction of English law. A few cases will show the nature of the difficulties that had to be faced. To put a Maori in prison was to degrade him for ever in the eyes of his fellows and to give him an excuse for retaliation. A native who had been imprisoned in Wellington for robbery—no doubt a venial offence in his eyes—exacted *utu* by tomahawking a settler and his two children—the victims being chosen at random. For this crime—also justifiable by the Maori code—he was sentenced to death, and met his fate with stolid indifference. Native murders were frequent in certain parts and were generally traceable either to superstition or to old established customs; and although it was evident that something must be done to check their recurrence, it was difficult to proceed in such a manner as not to shock the Maori

sense of justice. For example, a native named Ratea killed another native for seducing his wife, which by tribal law he had a perfect right to do, and an attempt to punish him according to English law threatened to cause an outbreak among the natives. Fortunately perhaps, the case broke down, and the murderer was acquitted, on purely technical grounds. The appointment of native assessors to act in conjunction with English magistrates in civil suits, though it often led to amusing results, was on the whole a useful educational experiment. With other agencies it helped to civilise the Maoris, and to familiarise them with English methods and laws, but it failed to prevent that anarchy among the tribes which was being brought about by our neglect to provide them with any system of self-government or to become ourselves responsible for their government. Sir George Grey, no doubt, conceived that the times were not ripe for interfering with tribal organisation, and directed all his efforts to educating the natives and improving their material welfare. Their capacity for learning was great. In 1849 Grey wrote: "They are fond of agriculture, take great pleasure in cattle and horses; like the sea, and form good sailors; are attached to Europeans, admire their customs and manners; are extremely ambitious of rising in civilisation, and of becoming skilled in European arts." What he achieved during his first administration is by no means overstated in his reply to an address presented to him by the Maoris on the eve of his departure in 1853. "For nearly eight years we have thus laboured together; churches and schools have been raised, men have abandoned false gods, peace has been established, lands have been ploughed, mills have been built,

great roads have been made, abundance prevails everywhere."

But though successful in staving off a war of races which before his arrival seemed imminent, and in winning the respect and confidence of the Maoris, Grey found it a much more difficult task to deal with the colonists. Many of his actions were bound to be unpopular, and his enemies accused him of being autocratic and inconsiderate where the settlers were concerned. He had, in fact, to play the same unpopular rôle in New Zealand as in South Australia. He found the finances in a hopeless muddle. The Colony was £70,000 in debt, the expenditure was £23,000 in excess of the income, and the debentures issued by Fitzroy were disallowed by the Home Government. Under these circumstances expenditure had to be curtailed in every direction, and to meet the necessities of the case, taxation had to be increased. Retrenchment and taxation, however, accompanied as they were by the restoration of confidence, might have passed with a slight amount of grumbling, but when the Governor put his foot down upon the profitable traffic in firearms and the still more profitable speculation in land which had followed Fitzroy's proclamation, the outcry was long and loud. To speculators and others who had purchased land around Auckland under the ten shillings and penny-an-acre proclamations he refused to issue Crown grants; and an ordinance passed for giving compensation was scouted by the purchasers, who claimed that the action of one Governor could not be set aside by his successor. A claim was tested before the Supreme Court of the Colony, and the decision being adverse, the purchasers were forced to make a virtue of necessity and accept any compensa-

tion that was offered. Then the Governor got himself embroiled in a heated controversy with the missionaries. He seems to have suspected, on little more evidence than irresponsible gossip, that the missionaries had given some countenance to the northern rebels, and he asserted that their land-sharking was one of the causes of Heke's war, a statement which drew him into a personal altercation with Henry Williams. It was quite true that many of the missionaries had been guilty of indiscretion in obtaining large grants of land from the natives, but there was no reason for supposing that these grants were the cause of the war. It is needless, however, to go into the particulars of the squabble.

The Company's settlers had other grounds of complaint against the Governor. At Wellington and Wanganui the natives, thanks to Grey's prompt action, were now comparatively quiet, and farmers in outlying districts could live in something like security; but the colonists, irritated by the sufferings they had endured in the past, and perhaps chagrined that their advice was not followed in regard to the natives, accused the Governor of culpable inconsistency in hanging a comparatively innocent man like Luther and treating Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, the murderers of Captain Wakefield, with a leniency which, they alleged, argued fear rather than policy. Since the Wairau massacre their attitude towards the natives had been unreasonably vindictive, and many of them would, if they could, have swept away the Treaty of Waitangi with its vexatious restrictions upon the sale of land. It was well that Grey was an autocrat and strong enough to resist the desperate remedies they advocated.

Their chief grievance, however, was that Grey

was opposed to their desire for representative institutions. In 1846 Earl Grey, then Colonial Secretary, had passed through Parliament "an act to make further provision for the government of the New Zealand Islands." The Royal Charter arrived in 1847 and was accompanied by lengthy instructions for the inauguration of the scheme of government. New Zealand was to be divided into two provinces, each with Lieutenant-Governor acting under the authority of the Governor-in-Chief. Each province was to have an Executive Council and a House of Representatives; and the affairs of the whole Colony were to be administered by the Governor-in-Chief, an Executive Council, and a House of Representatives. This elaborate constitution, prepared without Grey's knowledge or advice, was no doubt pleasing to the agitators at Wellington, but it contained provisions which justified the polite but resolute refusal of the Governor to put it into force. In the first place it was not representative, for the Maoris, who, of course, greatly outnumbered the settlers, were practically ignored, only those of them who could read and write English being allowed to vote. And in the second place expressions were used which seemed both to colonists and Maoris antagonistic to the letter and spirit of the Treaty of Waitangi. Earl Grey entirely dissented from the doctrine that aboriginal inhabitants could have any right to lands which they did not occupy and which were "unsubdued to the uses of man;" and he advised the Governor to take steps forthwith to establish "the exclusive title of the Crown to all unoccupied and waste land." He had also, on a former occasion, been indiscreet enough to refer to the Treaty of Waitangi as "injudicious," a phrase which was now remembered against him.

This portion of the charter caused much apprehension among the natives, who were unusually well-informed as to the proceedings of the Imperial Government. Influential chiefs wrote to the Queen, and a large number of colonists, headed by Bishop Selwyn and Chief Justice Martin, presented an address to Her Majesty protesting against the threatened confiscation of lands which the Maoris regarded as belonging to them. The missionaries were universally opposed to the principle sought to be established. Selwyn forwarded through the Governor to Earl Grey a somewhat intemperate protest, in which he declared his intention "to use all legal and constitutional measures, befitting his station, to inform the natives of New Zealand of their rights and privileges as British subjects, and to assist them in asserting and maintaining them, whether by petition to the Imperial Parliament, or other loyal and peaceable methods." The Chief Justice, an able lawyer and a man who took pains to understand the Maori character, endangered his official position by writing a pamphlet, which he entitled "England and the New Zealanders," and in which, by a variety of arguments, he endeavoured to prove that the Instructions involved "a breach of the national faith of Great Britain," which could not fail to have disastrous effects upon the Maoris. Sir George Grey, although he probably did not share all the alarmist views put forward by the missionaries and others, saw good reason to make a stand against the Charter and the Instructions. He pointed out that the Constitution would exclude the Maoris from representation, since but few of them could read and write English; and that it would give to a small European minority the right to impose taxation upon the Maori

majority. To confer upon 4500 colonists "such extensive powers" over 100,000 of their fellow creatures would, in his opinion, be a very hazardous experiment, more especially as the bulk of the colonists were embittered against the Maoris, and therefore in no mood to act with impartiality and justice. He further pointed out that the natives were only to a small extent an agricultural people; that to deprive them of their waste lands would cut them off from their most important means of subsistence, "from fern-roots, from fishing, from eel-ponds, from hunting wild pigs (for which they require extensive runs)." When the first protests reached him, Earl Grey asserted that his words had been misunderstood and that there was no intention of infringing the Treaty of Waitangi. This disclaimer, however, was not taken seriously and, beaten at all points, he had the good sense to withdraw as gracefully as he might from an untenable position. On his own responsibility, the Governor had already shelved the Constitution, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies hastened to put through Parliament an Act suspending for five years a scheme which he now admitted to be impracticable. Sir George Grey was almost complimented for his disobedience, and much was said about the advisability of being guided by the man on the spot, an admirable maxim which has been "more honoured in the breach than the observance." By the act of suspension the Governor was given large discretion in the matter of granting or withholding representative institutions, and he took advantage of the powers conferred upon him to pass a Provincial Councils Ordinance, by virtue of which the Colony was divided into two provinces.—New Ulster and New

Munster—each having an Executive and Legislative Council, consisting of Crown nominees. Edward John Eyre, well known in the annals of Australian exploration, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the South Island. His position, however, was altogether anomalous. He had no powers, and being somewhat impulsive and obstinate, he was soon at loggerheads with Grey, who had the common failing of autocrats, a decided disinclination to share authority.

Sir George Grey's action in thus thwarting the desire of the colonists for representative government, produced wide-spread dissatisfaction. At Wellington a Constitution Association was formed; Auckland settlers petitioned for the recall of the Governor, and in almost every centre of population men wrote and spoke as if they were groaning under an Asiatic despotism. So general was the feeling of irritation that difficulty was experienced in getting men of position to act on the various councils. Grey stuck to his guns without flinching. He too often allowed himself to be dragged into personal controversy, but neither intrigue nor abuse could force his hands; and in after days, when time had allayed the angry passions of the moment, men were willing to admit that what they at first regarded as obstinacy was in reality farseeing and judicious policy.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE FOUNDATION OF OTAGO.

At the time of Grey's arrival the wave of colonisation had scarcely touched the South Island. The Nelson settlement was, indeed, three years old and contained a population of 3000, but the rest of the island, though travellers had dissipated the idea that it was "bleak and cold, and not fit for settling," was untenanted save by a few Maoris, a handful of whalers scattered along the coast, and a few pioneers like John and William Deans, whose cattle roamed over the plains in the neighbourhood of what is now Christchurch, and John Jones, who in addition to being a whaler, and merchant, was a farmer on a large scale at Waikouaiti, in Otago. When Shortland visited Waikouaiti in 1843, he was surprised to find there a thriving cattle and sheep station, and more surprised still when he heard the sounds of a piano issuing from the homestead and was greeted by a young gentleman, late of Cambridge, who had undertaken to impart the rudiments of a polite education to Mr. Jones's children. In 1848 about six hundred acres had been fenced; 100 acres were in crop; and the live-stock comprised 100 horses, 200 head of cattle, and 2000 sheep. Dr. Hocken's description of the Waikouaiti settlement as it was in those days gives an excellent picture of a bit of Old New Zealand. "Dilapidated, rickety little huts dotted about, huge whale-bones strewn every-

where, savage pigs and dogs feasting on the refuse which tainted the air with sickening greasy smell, whilst clouds of gulls and shags associated in the repast; busy groups of men cutting out and trying out the blubber of some recent prize; and boats drawn up on the beach ready to be launched at a moment's notice after fresh quarry." At Stewart's Island there was a settlement of seventy white people, some of whom had begun to cultivate the land; and at Akaroa a few Frenchmen were planting vineyards on the hillsides. Elsewhere the South Island was a fertile solitude. A few travellers, like Shortland and Selwyn, had visited the whaling stations and Maori villages, but their journeys were always along the seaboard. From Banks' Peninsula and the plains, the Alps could be seen gleaming in the background, but no white man had as yet explored their rugged grandeur. Shortland had seen the beautiful Taieri plains, but the interior of what is now called Otago was still a wilderness of which even adventurous Maoris knew little.

The story of how these solitudes were peopled by "dour" Presbyterians, and by the "Canterbury Pilgrims," is one of singular interest. Both Otago and Canterbury were church settlements; both began life under the ægis of the New Zealand Company; and in both the principles advocated by Gibbon Wakefield were more nearly followed than elsewhere. To these points of similarity it may be added that for years to come both Colonies were almost entirely pastoral.

The long and complicated negotiations which preceded the founding of Otago do not call for lengthy treatment. The scheme originated with Mr. George Rennie, a friend of Wakefield and a close student of

colonising efforts. In 1842 he wrote to the Directors of the New Zealand Company suggesting a settlement in the Middle Island on a plan which contained several new features. The Company's settlers, he pointed out, had hitherto been beset by two serious difficulties. In the first place it was often impossible to procure Crown titles for the land they had purchased from the Company, and in the second place, in the absence of proper arrangements for surveys, they were often obliged to remain for months under canvas before being put in possession. To remedy these defects Mr. Rennie proposed that after a site had been selected, a body of surveyors, engineers, and labourers should be engaged to conduct the surveys, build wharves, clear land for a suburban farm, and make other preparations which experience had shown to be necessary. In this way the future colonist would be spared a great deal of hardship and discouragement. The Directors expressed general approval of the scheme, but their own relations with the Government were so strained that the negotiations were for the time fruitless. Moreover, Hobson who was now in New Zealand, had protested against the further dispersion of the colonists, and the Colonial Office, sharing his views, threw cold water on the idea of a settlement on the east coast of the Middle Island.

At this period Captain William Cargill and the Rev. Thomas Burns—men who were destined to be the real founders of Otago—first came upon the stage, and their influence led to a somewhat radical change in the original plan. Cargill was an old Peninsula veteran and Burns was one of the band of ministers who, under the leadership of Dr. Chalmers, had, in 1843, severed their connection with

the Established Church of Scotland, and constituted themselves the Free Church. The New Zealand Company having at length announced that they had made satisfactory arrangements with the Government for securing titles to their land, Rennie and Cargill renewed their negotiations. As there was now a staff of surveyors in the Colony and as the Company's agent could be trusted to select a suitable site, they were willing to forego the conditions originally laid down by Rennie; but they stipulated that the settlement should be Scotch and Presbyterian, and that ample provision should be made for religious and educational purposes. The proposal for a sectarian and class colony was no novelty. Religion had been a very important element in the foundation of the first English settlements in America, and plans were now on foot for forming an Anglican colony in the Middle Island of New Zealand. The Scotch scheme was warmly taken up by the Free Church, with which it became in the end entirely identified; but not before a quarrel had taken place between Burns and Rennie. The latter was not in sympathy with the Free Church movement and was opposed to the adoption of an exclusive principle, which, in his opinion, would restrict the sale of land by the Company. This difference led to his withdrawal, and thereafter Burns and Cargill continued the struggle alone. Cargill took up his quarters in London, waiting wearily for a settlement of the disputes between the Government and the New Zealand Company; whilst Burns, with unflagging enthusiasm, preached the new crusade from end to end of Scotland. It was chiefly through his influence that the *Lay Association* was formed. It consisted of prominent laymen who were connected

with the Free Church and were in sympathy with the Otago scheme. This body, formed in 1845, laboured zealously in the cause, and became henceforth the responsible party in future negotiations. But it was not till 1847 that the *Terms of Purchase* were finally agreed upon. The delay was due to the strained relations which still continued between the Government and the New Zealand Company. In 1845 the latter obtained from Lord Derby the promise of an unconditional grant of 400,000 acres of land in Otago, out of which they were to select the 150,000 acres required by the *Lay Association*. At the same time a loan of £100,000 was granted to recoup them for losses which, the Directors maintained, were due largely to the bad faith and hostility of the Colonial Office. With portion of this loan the Company undertook to carry out a survey of the Otago block. But the Government, repenting its fit of generosity, still delayed a final settlement. In 1846, however, the Peel Ministry was defeated and in the new Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, the Company had a friend, who freely admitted their claims and the value of the work they had carried out. By an Act passed in July 1847, a further loan of £136,000 was advanced and it was stipulated that if, at the end of three years, the Company should be unable to continue its operations, the Government should suspend the Charter and take over the assets. The Company lost no time in carrying out its arrangements with the Lay Association. Under the *Terms of Purchase* a property was to consist of a town allotment of a quarter of an acre, a suburban allotment of 10 acres, and 50 acres of rural land. The price was fixed at £2 per acre. Two thousand properties were set apart for sale to

private individuals, 100 for local Municipal Government, 100 for the Trustees for Religious and Educational uses, and 200 for the New Zealand Company. Of the proceeds three-eighths were to be devoted to emigration, two-eighths to surveys, etc., one-eighth for religion and education, and two-eighths were assigned to the New Zealand Company to cover interest and risk.

In the meantime Colonel Wakefield, with the approval of Governor Fitzroy, had in 1844 commissioned Frederick Tuckett, a surveyor and engineer who had surveyed the town and suburban lands at Nelson, to examine the eastern coast of the Middle Island with a view to selecting a site for the "New Edinburgh" settlement. He first of all visited Port Cooper—now Lyttleton—but was not impressed either with the harbour or with the swampy plain where John and William Deans had squatted. From Port Cooper he sailed to Moeraki, whence he walked overland to Mr. Jones's farm at Waikouaiti, and then over hills and through dense forest, a two days' weary march, to an inlet near what is now Port Chalmers. Here his vessel was waiting at anchor. Without delay the party rowed in a boat up the inlet to Otepuni, the site of the future Dunedin. At that time it was a wilderness of flax swamp and jungle-clad spurs, its "sole occupants being wekas, pukekos, quails, moreporks, and wild pigs." The Maoris were friendly and seemed much amused that permission should be asked them to trail a chain along the shore. Delighted with this spot and the extensive but shallow harbour, Tuckett's party continued their explorations on foot as far south as the Matau or Molyneux where they discovered a seam of coal, and then taking ship pro-

ceeded to the Bluff and Stewart Island. On the return journey they landed at the mouth of the Molyneux and explored the country for some distance inland, and were thoroughly satisfied with its possibilities. Negotiations with the natives for the sale of the area of land required were broken off owing to a difference between Tuckett and Symonds, who was acting on behalf of the Crown. At length Colonel Wakefield himself arrived. After making a short tour of inspection he decided to come to terms at once with the natives, who had already assembled to the number of 150 at Koputai (Port Chalmers) to receive the expected payment. The price agreed upon for the whole block of 400,000 acres was £2,400, which, contrary to Wakefield's usual custom, was paid in bank notes, gold, and silver. Tuawhaiki—"Bloody Jack"—received £900, Karetai and Taiaroa £300 each, the remainder being distributed among the rank and file, men, women and children.

The purchase completed to everybody's satisfaction, Wakefield gave instructions for the survey of the block, but unfortunately the funds of the Company were again exhausted and all operations had to be stayed. Koputai was once more a solitude save for the presence of a single surveyor, and two families, the Andersons and McKays, who had been attracted thither from Nelson by rumours of the coming settlement. For three years they lived the rude but healthy life of pioneers. There was no want of food of a kind, for the bush was full of wild pigs, and their own industry produced plenty of vegetables. Fishing and quail shooting furnished ample sport and were indulged in by the women as well as the men. Their boating excursions often

led them to Oteputi, where two runaway sailors had built a hut. In February, 1846, the loneliness which hung heavily upon them, was pleasantly broken by the arrival of another party of surveyors under the leadership of Mr. Kettle. Contracts were let for the survey of the whole Otago block—Otago was originally Otakou, the Maori name for a small district within the Heads—and before the end of the year both Port Chalmers and Dunedin had been laid out, the streets being named after those of Edinburgh or Leith. Everything was now ready for the future colonists.

The pioneer ships were the *John Wickliffe* and the *Philip Laing*. The former carried most of the stores and implements for the various trades, as well as a supply of money in gold and silver. Captain Cargill was in charge of the ninety-seven emigrants. The *Philip Laing* carried 247 emigrants, over whom Burns and Blackie, the schoolmaster, exercised a somewhat rigorous discipline. The parting at Greenock was conducted with grave solemnity, with prayers and the singing of psalms; and on the long voyage to the Antipodes, these stern descendants of the Covenanters attended two religious services a day, as well as the Schoolmaster's classes, and for relaxation were content with singing hymns or the national songs of Scotland.

The *John Wickliffe* reached Port Chalmers on the 23rd of March 1848 and the *Philip Laing* on the 15th of April, but it was some time before all the women and children were removed to the embryo Dunedin. There they were housed in long barracks, made of rushes and flax chiefly. The whole settlement looked like a gipsy camp. True to the design of the founders, one of the first cares of the

little colony was to appoint Trustees for Religious and Educational uses, a church and school-house being erected without delay. By degrees selections were allotted and the settlers built themselves huts of "wattle and daub," with clay floor and divided into "but and ben," and when comfortably housed they set to work to clear the land for cultivation, in all of which labours they lent each other a helping hand. Governor Grey had sent a magistrate with a sergeant, a corporal and four privates; but for some time he had nothing to do, crime being confined to occasional over-indulgence in liquor. The first prison was a tent, which later on was replaced by a wooden structure hardly more secure. Of the gaoler, Johnny Barr, it is told that he sometimes let his prisoners out for a holiday with the injunction to be back by eight o'clock, on pain of being locked out! Mr. Sidney Stephen, who was appointed Chief Justice in 1850 at a salary of £800 a year, had on three occasions an empty dock, and was so obviously a luxury that he was soon removed. The Supreme Court of Otago was not reopened till 1858.

By October, 1848, the settlement contained a population of 444 souls, and 88 houses had been erected. Other emigrants were arriving, some of them possessed of independent means; but progress was not rapid, the opening up of the country districts being retarded by the absence of roads and bridges, for the construction of which no funds were available. The little Colony was soon torn by feuds. Visitors described it as a nest of cantankerous exclusionists, or "as a fenced enclosure in which unhappy and spiteful creatures, like strange cats, were endeavouring to tear each other's eyes out." Grievances were numerous. The New Zealand Company

was fast approaching the end of its stormy career. It had spent a large sum of money on Otago with little return, for the sale of land had not come up to expectations; and its financial insecurity was regarded by the Association as one of the prime causes of the slow progress of the Colony. But the demise of the Company made no difference. Purchasers were repelled by the high price of the land and by the high rate of wages; and a good many people were deterred from settling in the Colony by the well-known desire of its leaders to keep it Scotch and Presbyterian.

In these circumstances the settlers entered lustily into the agitation for reform and self-government. The suspension of the Constitution Bill was received with bitter denunciation and a Settlers' Association was formed to agitate for representative institutions. The Government was thoroughly unpopular and all who supported it were held up to ridicule in the local press. Nothing is more singular in these young Anglo-Saxon communities than their detestation of anything like autocratic rule. No matter how small the population may be, their first ambition is to obtain the privilege of managing their own affairs, and of setting up a miniature parliament of their own. The Imperial Government, which has to consider not only the claims of its own people but also those of aboriginal races and the necessities of an Empire consisting of more or less independent colonies, has often been compelled to take up an attitude apparently hostile to these aspirations after self-government, and for so doing it has been the recipient of much unmerited abuse. In the case of Otago and other provinces of New Zealand, it is by no means certain that the granting of representative institu-

tions a few years earlier would have had any marked effect on the progress of settlement. The future development of Otago came from the gradual influx of immigrants; from a simple modification of the land regulations by virtue of which land could be bought at 10s. an acre, with the expenditure of further sums of 10s. a year for three years upon improvements, and which enabled squatters to take up large areas on pastoral licenses; and from the opportune discovery of gold in 1861. The founders had contemplated a settlement of small farmers, but in New Zealand as in Australia it was soon perceived that the first stage in industrial progress must be pastoral rather than agricultural. Pastoralism was more profitable and it did not require the same expenditure of money upon public works. Sir George Grey's land regulations intended to throw open the lands of the Colony at prices varying from 5s. to 10s. an acre had been the subject of much acrimonious criticism in Otago as well as Canterbury. In these settlements land could not be disposed of at less than £2 an acre, and many felt that by reducing the price elsewhere the Governor was striking directly at the prosperity of the Southern Colonies, with which, as class settlements, he was supposed to have little sympathy. In all probability he had no such motive. He realised, as did the Otago people afterwards, that cheap land was a necessity of the hour. It led, of course, to the creation of large sheep runs, held partly on pasture licenses and partly purchased on the system known as "grid-ironing" or "picking the eyes out of the land." At the end of the century these estates are now being "burst" up in the interests of closer settlement, but they served their turn by enabling the settlers to utilise

country which otherwise would have remained for years an untrodden waste. The squatters "trekking" into the interior with their sheep and cattle, forcing their way laboriously through swamp and bush and over rugged mountains, where neither road nor track existed, and yet claiming little from the government save elbow-room, laid the foundations of prosperity in New Zealand as well as in Australia, and those of them who are now living may be pardoned if they grumble a little at a policy which has rendered necessary the cutting up of their broad estates.

The story of the early years of the Otago settlement is not wanting in humorous aspects. The people were not only provincial; they were in addition perversely Scotch and Presbyterian, and for years fought against the intrusion of settlers that did not hail from the land of cakes. They lived in an atmosphere of Shorter Catechism, of national prejudices, and petty wranglings. But, for all their narrowness, they were good colonists; stiff and uncompromising, but shirking none of the hardships and responsibilities which fell to their lot as pioneers.

At the end of ten years substantial progress had been made. The revenue was £46,000, most of which was spent on roads and bridges, and the population had grown from a few hundreds to over 7000, the great majority of whom were settled in the country districts. Thanks chiefly to the enterprise of Mr. Macandrew, steamships had already made their appearance on the coast, and contributed greatly to the development of trade. The political education of the people was being carried on by the system of Provincial Government inaugurated in 1853. The local parliament, which consisted at first

of only nine members, abated nothing of the formal dignity of larger assemblies, though the exigencies of colonial life sometimes rendered it difficult to maintain the decorum that was thought necessary. Dr. Hocken relates an amusing story of these early assemblies. The daughter of one of the members, a local tailor, broke in upon the sanctity of the meeting, and rushing up to her father, exclaimed: "Father, father, Jimmy Broon has ca'ed for his breeks!" An exclamation which might furnish an excellent title for a chapter dealing with the eccentricities of Provincialism in New Zealand.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CANTERBURY PILGRIMS.

EQUALLY interesting, and from certain points of view equally amusing, is the story of the "Canterbury Pilgrims." They were the fine flower of English society and they brought to the work of colonisation such earnestness and such variety of knowledge and culture that satirists hailed their appearance with delight. There was, indeed, not a little that was utopian and dreamy in their plans; and it says much for the adaptability and stamina of the Pilgrims that they survived the lofty ambitions with which they set out. The Canterbury Association consisted of what the newspapers might term a "galaxy" of noble lords, bishops, and gentlemen, enamoured of the patriotic idea of founding a colony which should really represent what was best and greatest in English society. Their inspiration and the first draft of their scheme came from that "sanguine, enthusiastic projector," Edward Gibbon Wakefield. The Canterbury settlement was to be the *magnum opus* of his life, and the complete realisation of dreams which ever haunted him. It was also to be the last effort of the New Zealand Company, which, unable to repay Parliamentary loans to the amount of £236,000, was obliged in July, 1850, to surrender its charter and property to the Crown. During the eleven years of its existence, it had expended nearly a million pounds, and when the

charter was relinquished, its debts to the shareholders and to the Government amounted to £492,852. Its assets were stated to be a million acres of land in New Zealand, but to a large part of this territory the native claim had not yet been extinguished. The directors were treated more generously than they deserved. By the New Zealand Settlement Act passed in 1850, their debt to the Government was cancelled, and they were allowed five shillings per acre, £268,370 in all for their landed estate. The Constitution Act of 1852 saddled the Colony with the payment of this sum, one-fourth of all lands sold being appropriated for that purpose. The Colonists groaned under the burden, and the directors offered to cancel the debt on the immediate payment of £200,000. The money was borrowed by the New Zealand Assembly, and the Provinces of the Middle Island undertook to pay it off, on condition that their own revenue should not be used for purchasing native land.

The Association was incorporated by Royal Charter in November 1849. Its aims were to create a colony which should be an extension of England "with regard to the more refined attributes of civilisation;" a colony in which ladies and gentlemen might find a home in which none of the refinements and amenities of English life should be wanting. The colonists were to be English gentlemen fond of rural pursuits; younger sons of noblemen or gentlemen of fortune; the better class of tenant farmers; and the "masses" were to be represented by picked persons willing to work for wages as farm labourers, shepherds, stockmen, and mechanics, and by a variety of small capitalists, storekeepers and others. Nothing was to be left to chance. The farmers,

labourers, and storekeepers were not to be recruited from the city slums, as had been too often the case in other schemes of colonisation, but to be chosen on the recommendation of gentlemen promoters or intending colonists. Above all, the Pilgrims must be good Churchmen, for Canterbury was to be English and Episcopalian. A bishop designate (the Rev. Thomas Jackson) and five clergymen were to accompany the emigrants, and magnificent plans were formed of episcopal palaces, colleges, and churches. To secure funds for the carrying out of the scheme the price of land was fixed at £3 per acre. The proceeds were to be divided as follows: 10 shillings. to the government for public purposes; 10 shillings for survey, roads, and general administration; 20 shillings for emigration; and 20 shillings for religious and educational purposes. The first purchasers were to have the privilege of occupying pastoral runs on lease: a judicious arrangement which attracted practical sheep-farmers from Australia as well as from England.

When it was decided to select the Canterbury plains as the scene of operations, the Association scattered broadcast over England pamphlets containing information as to their plans, advice to emigrants, and answers to objections raised by sceptical persons. These "Canterbury Papers," as they were called, bore the Tennysonian motto:

> "A land there lies
> Now void; it fits thy people: thither bend
> Thy course; there shalt thou find a lasting seat;
> There to thy sons shall many Englands rise;
> And states be born of thee."

They even included effusions from the estimable Martin Tupper. There breathed through them, in-

deed, a spirit of culture, and a dignified unworldliness, which made rough old pioneers put their tongues in their cheeks. The wags exhausted their raillery upon the "spectacle of a British bishop going forth at the head of the inhabitants of his future diocese, and inculcating perfect reliance on their prayer book and priest." Some ridiculed the future colony as a "slice of England from top to bottom, from a bishop to a domestic fowl;" others, fastening upon the High Church leanings of several of the promoters, made merry over what they termed a "Puseyite descent" upon New Zealand. Perhaps the most scathing of these humorous attacks came from the pen of Sydney Smith, who wrote:

"The augurs, it is said, laughed in each other's face in the Roman streets. We wonder what the parsons will do when they read this modest prospectus. We are curious to know how economists expect a settlement to thrive, which, at its very outset, throws away a third of its whole capital on its idlers and non-producers, and sends another third off to the Mother Country before it begins to work. In one sense a man does well to part with everything to save his soul; but what are we to think of a Church which, at every step of its progress, practically states its belief that the salvation of men is an affair of money, and thrusts itself into every scheme for bettering the human race, with a demand for a third of the hard-earned labour of the industrious? We entertain all due respect for the ecclesiastical zeal by which the Canterbury speculators are deceived into the idea of its excellence. But as a commercial scheme, we emphatically denounce it as a bubble, phlebotomising the poor, and blistering the rich simpletons who listen to the project for one moment.

We earnestly advise the colonists to guard the issues of taxation. Let them not submit to be taxed and burdened beforehand, and unconsciously to saddle themselves with an extravagant established church, rendered by their own folly entirely independent of all popular control. Have nothing to do with this Canterbury. Its beginning is radically unsound, and it will end in failure and folly. Bishops, archdeacons, and parsons are not settlers. After they have amassed a competency, they will carry it away from the colony. They are not improvers. They will produce nothing."

The Association gravely assured its traducers that their scheme was not a Puseyite affair, and that the colonists were not to be priest-ridden. It does not matter much now, for a year in Canterbury knocked on the head the dreams of superior visionaries, and the Pilgrims—except a few who fled at sight of the "void" plains whose praises had been sung with so much fervour—were ready enough to join in the laugh against themselves. Practical matters were not overlooked entirely. Captain Thomas was sent out as agent and surveyor, and, in 1850, Mr. Godley, appointed agent and administrator, was despatched to complete arrangements for the reception of the first settlers. He was surprised at the progress already made at Port Cooper. A wooden jetty had been built, several emigration barracks erected, as well as boat-sheds, and a house for the agent. The town had been surveyed, and a number of wooden houses had been put up by adventurers from other colonies, who had obtained permission to "squat." Two public houses, essential concomitants of every new British settlement, were already in existence. A track had also been formed across the hills to the

Plains, the only occupants of which were the Deans brothers. Godley rode over to their farm and was much impressed by the flourishing condition in which he found them. They had 1500 sheep, 300 cattle, 30 or 40 horses, and their garden was well stocked with vegetables and English fruit trees, all of which throve remarkably well. Near their farm was a small piece of bush, sole relic of a forest which at one time must have covered all the low-lying country round the hills of the Peninsula. With the exception of these Scotch pioneers, fifty Frenchmen at Akaroa, a few settlers scattered about the various inlets of the Peninsula, and a few hundred Maoris, Canterbury was absolutely void, except of possibilities.

About the middle of 1850, the Association, having matured its plans, chartered four ships to convey the first batch of Pilgrims to the Land of Promise. The names of these first ships deserve to live in New Zealand story. They were the *Randolph,* the *Sir George Seymour,* the *Cressy,* the *Charlotte Jane.* The immigrants numbered 800, 307 being cabin passengers, a circumstance which the promoters noted with pride. A dinner was given on board the *Randolph* to the saloon passengers, and the labourers were regaled separately on roast beef, plum pudding, and beer. Sermons were not wanting, but the English Pilgrims, less serious than the "Old Identities" who founded Otago, took their leave of England with dancing and music. The first ships entered Port Cooper on the 16th of December (1850), and were welcomed by Godley, and by Sir George and Lady Grey who had come down for the occasion. Luckily the weather was bright and sunny, and the Pilgrims gazed with satisfaction upon the

tawny hills which surrounded the Port and the comfortable quarters which had been prepared for them. In a few days many of them had footed it across the hills to the Plains where Christchurch was soon to rise. The panorama which met their gaze when they reached the hilltop, produced diverse impressions. Looking back they saw below them a landlocked, embayed harbour, wooded valleys, and a toy township snugged in a hollow; before them lay a vast plain, level as a billiard table, a straw-coloured, treeless waste, the monotony of which was only broken by here and there a gleaming bend of river, by stretches of flax swamps, or by clumps of manuka scrub. To the west was a long line of snow-topped peaks, the Snowy Mountains, and stretching northward into the dim distance, a curving sandy beach on which the Pacific broke in great swaths of foam. No sign of life was anywhere visible. Many were disappointed. This dreary, wind-swept void was not the Paradise their fancy had painted. Probably few of them realised what a difference twenty-five years would make. Where the Avon and the Heathcote meandered sluggishly through swamp and tussock-flats, or round barren sand-dunes, their own industry was soon to plant a beautiful city, misnamed the "City of Magnificent Distances," for Christchurch is "half revealed and half concealed" by groves of Australian gum-trees, of English oaks and elms, and by miles of weeping-willows edging circuitous streams. Instead of tussocky desolation as far as the eye could reach, the Pilgrim twenty-five years afterwards saw a succession of green meadows, with hedges of hawthorn or furze, and neat villas nestling in the midst of trees.

It was a matter of some difficulty in those days to

get heavy goods from Port Lyttleton (so called after Lord Lyttleton, one of the most prominent members of the Association) to Christchurch, for at first there was only a bridle track across the hills. A good dray road was soon made, however, and, later on, sailing boats and small steamers came round from Lyttleton and, crossing the bar at Sumner, landed goods at the ferry over the Heathcote. Before the end of the year 1851, 2600 colonists had arrived, and on the banks of the Avon many neat wooden buildings were scattered about; a church and school-room, as well as two parsonages, being among the number.

During 1852 the Avon was bridged and considerable sums of money spent on roads. The settlers had already leased 700,000 acres within the Canterbury Block and sheep and cattle were spreading over the plains. At the end of the year the population had increased to 3400; 5000 acres had been fenced; and the live stock comprised 50,000 sheep, 3000 cattle and 300 horses—creditable progress for two years.

It had not all been plain sailing, however. Many bubbles had burst, harmlessly for the most part. The ecclesiastical arrangements were found too elaborate for the wants of the country. The bishop designate had fled at the end of six weeks; and some of the clergy had followed him. Although schools were established from the outset, the colleges and palaces were not yet. Socially, moreover, things had got a good deal mixed. The one noble lord who had embarked his fortunes in Canterbury, found Sydney more to his tastes; and other purely decorative persons soon discovered that colonising meant "roughing it," and silently took return tickets for civilisa-

tion. Not a few, gentle and simple, grumbled loudly that they had been deceived. They expected more from the Association, and yet the Association had been extravagant. Some abused the climate, which was neither so sunny nor so mild as they had been led to expect. "Dear me," exclaimed a lady who had recently landed and was being conducted over the bridle-path by a friend, "does it always blow like this?" "Oh dear no," was the reply, "it generally blows a great deal harder!" Others found the conditions uncongenial. They had expected an Arcadian life, in which the greatest hardship would be "reclining under a shady rock and soothing their fleecy charges with the shepherd's pipe." These people found that riding after sheep and cattle, and camping out at night with a saddle for pillow, were far from Arcadian. Mutton, damper, and tea three times a day were monotonous and depressing. Some of the first Pilgrims had "grand notions," which a little experience quickly dissipated. One family had brought out with them an English carriage; it was laid aside as more than a seven days' wonder, and its owners were content to take their pleasure in a bullock dray, the only means of conveyance in a roadless country.

Disappointed colonists did their best to damp the ardour of others. They published peevish letters in the Home papers, and they went so far as to board newly arrived immigrant ships with tales that produced gloom and consternation. A good story is told of how the Scotch pioneer, John Deans, outwitted some of these birds of ill-omen. The passengers of a ship by which he had returned from a visit to Scotland were told, on their arrival, that the soil of the country was so barren and the climate so se-

vere that no fruits could be got to ripen. Gulled by these stories, they made, like the cat in the fairy story, faces like a rainy day, and cursed the ill-luck which had lured them to so inhospitable a land. Next day when they sat down to their cuddy dinner the steward placed on the table "an enormous bough loaded with highly-flavoured plums," which Deans had procured from his garden at Riccarton, with the special purpose of curing the "new chums" of their fit of depression.

The great majority, however, cheerfully made the best of things, or "ate their *tutu*," as the phrase went. Fine gentlemen who had never done a day's manual labour, scholars fresh from Oxford and Cambridge, became literally hewers of wood and drawers of water, and throve on hard work and plain diet. Nothing came amiss to them. They made fences, of post and rail or sod, built houses, drove bullocks, trudged wearily but manfully behind the slow-going merino. They had many things to be grateful for. There was no native question, there was no bush to clear, and the native grasses were sufficient to keep a sheep or two to the acre. As for the farmer, he had but to plough the land and sow his crop.

When the Australian gold fever was at its highest, hundreds of able-bodied colonists left New Zealand. The Canterbury settlement suffered heavily; but the loss was to some extent made good by immigration. Moreover, when the excitement had died down, many Australian pastoralists came to Canterbury, and by their energy and experience contributed much to the prosperity of the settlement. In 1853 Canterbury was proclaimed one of the six Provinces of New Zealand, and the Provincial Council, con-

sisting of twelve members, held its first session. Mr. James Fitzgerald, the first Pilgrim to land on Canterbury soil, was elected Superintendent. For the first few years the Council was occupied with immigration, public works, with land legislation, education, and negotiations for the winding up of the Association. Mr. R. Harman, in 1854, sailed to England as immigration agent, and succeeded in despatching to the colony many desirable settlers. The public works policy was directed to improving the means of communication with the Port, and to forming roads in and around Christchurch. A great deal of land outside the original Canterbury block was purchased at 10s. an acre, a consequence of Grey's ordinance reducing the price of land to that sum. The Council was opposed to this reduction, and, in 1855, passed a Provincial ordinance by which waste land throughout the Province could be sold at 10s. an acre, an additional 30s. an acre being exacted for local purposes. The apparent object of this apportionment of the purchase money was to limit the amount that could be claimed by the Central Government in connection with land sales. Education had always been an important feature of the Canterbury scheme, and, although it was found impossible to carry out the original programme, every effort was made to provide the settlers with good schools both for girls and boys. Four years after the founding of the colony, Christ's College was incorporated. It was framed on the model of an English Public School, with an upper department for the training of young clergymen, and perhaps no school in the colonies has had a wider influence or has established more wholesome traditions than this "Eton of New Zealand." The same year wit-

nessed the decease of the Canterbury Association. Like its parent, the New Zealand Company, it soon found that colonisation was an expensive business. Fortunately, the Province which it created was now in a satisfactory position, and the Council gracefully took upon itself the debt which the founders had incurred.

By 1857 the population had increased to 6230. The majority of the people belonged to the Church of England, but the exclusive principle was never asserted in practice. Christchurch bears the marks of its ecclesiastical and Anglican origin: it is the "Cathedral City"; but Wesleyans, Presbyterians, Roman Catholics, gained a footing without let or hindrance. Free-trade was soon the rule in religion and nationality. The great industry was pastoralism. All over the plains, squatters had established themselves and the more enterprising of them grazed their flocks on the foothills and among the valleys of the mountains. The Province now boasted 276,029 sheep. The wool was of better quality and the fleece heavier than those produced in the more torrid climate of Australia. The only drawback was the prevalence of scab, which stringent laws, however, did much to keep under. The squatters were a fine race, well educated, manly, and hospitable. At a sheep station the traveller could always get a "shake down" for the night, and refreshment for himself and his horse. Agriculture, though far behind sheep-farming, was not neglected. Four thousand acres were in wheat crop, and the yield per acre was exceptionally high. The discovery of gold in Australia, whilst luring away the roving and adventurous elements among the Pilgrims, gave opportunities to the industrious farmer. In 1857, £20,000

worth of agricultural produce was exported, chiefly to Australia. For the present, however, Canterbury was a land of the "Golden Fleece," and visitors at the hotels and the Club, for Christchurch had now a club, found that sheep and scab were the principal topics of conversation. The mimic Parliament was next in importance, and periodically the settlers worked themselves into a white heat over the election of a superintendent or over the misdeeds of the Central Government.

Some excitement was caused in 1857 by an earthquake which set the church bells ringing. At Wellington, where the shock was felt most severely, the inhabitants were panic-stricken. It was accompanied by rumbling noises, like the explosion of subterranean batteries. "The sailors on board the ships in the harbour thought their anchors were running out, many buildings were thrown down, Baron von Alzdorf was killed, and three persons dangerously wounded. In the midst of this convulsion, the sentinel of the 65th Regiment, guarding the ruins of Government House, shouted, 'All's well!' As the earth shook during the whole night, people were panic-stricken. Many expected to be engulfed: men who had sojourned in South America lay on long poles, lest a fissure should open; women and children were stretched on beds in the streets in agonies of terror; dogs howled; stabled horses were covered with sweat; and ducks, hens, and pigs cried piteously. The beach was swept by a tidal wave; and, for eight hours subsequent to the first shock, the tide receded from the shore every twenty minutes, rising two feet higher, and falling four feet lower, than at spring tides; next day there was no ordinary tide in the harbour. When daylight came it was found that

53 per cent of the brick chimneys were down and 39 much injured, that £16,000 worth of property was destroyed, that the country around Wellington was elevated two feet, that the Hutt river bridge was swept away, that several fissures had opened in the earth, that the air stunk with the immense quantity of dead fish cast on shore, and that the low water mark had become the limit of high water."

The temporary alarm was soon forgotten, although for a time earthquakes were added to Maori savagery as bugbears to frighten intending colonists.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONSTITUTION AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

At the close of the year 1852 word reached New Zealand that the Imperial Parliament had at length passed an Act conferring a constitution upon the Colony. Everywhere the news was hailed with extravagant demonstrations of joy; guns were fired, bells rung, tar barrels and bonfires set ablaze; at Wellington, Canterbury and Otago the rejoicings being especially jubilant. Autocracy and despotism were at an end, and budding politicians prepared for coming elections and predicted a new era of prosperity and useful legislation.

The hand of Sir George Grey, arch despot as men thought him, was in almost every line of the Constitution. It had been drafted in England, but the basis was furnished by Grey. Gibbon Wakefield, who was soon to be in New Zealand, had also been consulted.

The Constitution, which is based on the broadest and most liberal principles, is conspicuous for the unexampled power of local government which it conferred. The whole Colony was divided into six Provinces, each of which was provided with a Superintendent and a Provincial Council, both elected by the people. The franchise was liberal, colonists possessing a freehold worth £50 a year, leaseholders paying a rental of £10 a year, being allowed to vote, provided they had been residents for a prescribed

period, which varied from six months to three years. The government of the whole Colony was vested in the Governor, the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives. The members of the Council were nominated by the Governor and held their seats for life. Many regarded the perpetuation of the nominee principle in the constitution of the Upper House as the great blot of the Act. Grey had recommended an elective Chamber, but Sir John Pakington had thought fit to discard a novelty, the advantages of which were, to say the least, dubious. The qualifications of voters for the House of Representatives were the same as those for the Provincial Councils.

The Provincial Governments were debarred from legislating on thirteen specified subjects, such as customs, coinage, postal service, etc.; and all acts passed by them were subject to disallowance by the Governor, and could be overridden by any act of the Central Government with which they were at variance. With these exceptions the Provinces were given a pretty free hand. They had the control of education, immigration, harbours, the making of roads and bridges, and after 1856 the management and sale of Crown Lands were also conceded to them. From that date the revenue arising from the sale of land and the issue of pastoral licenses could be applied to local purposes, with the exception of half-a-crown an acre on all lands sold, which was handed over to the Central Government.

The provision made for native representation was so meagre as to be valueless. Maoris who chose to register as land-owners were allowed to vote, but few of them took advantage of the privilege: individual land-owning, indeed, hardly existed among

them. The Crown retained the right, if it thought fit, to maintain the laws, customs, and usages of the Maoris and to set apart particular districts in which these might be preserved. The effect of this non-intervention, half-hearted policy was, as Mr. Gisborne points out, "to segregate the natives, and so to strengthen their own uncivilised habits."

Although Sir John Pakington had instructed him to put the Act into force without delay, Sir George Grey took no steps until after the lapse of many months, and when he did act, he made the mistake of "putting the cart before the horse" by bringing into existence the Provincial Councils first, thus forestalling in many respects the work of the General Assembly. This policy accentuated the worst features of Provincialism, and was the cause of a good deal of friction and inconvenience. There were some who said that Grey purposely retarded the introduction of complete representative government as long as he could, and that, after being autocrat so long, he was averse to playing the rôle of a Constitutional Governor. Colour was given to these statements by the fact that he left New Zealand (on the last day of the year 1853) some months before the first General Assembly met in Auckland. Whatever may have been his motive in leaving to his successor the full inauguration of Representative Government, only the most rancorous partisan would argue that he was on principle hostile to free institutions. The Constitution itself was the work of his hands, and it was the most liberal, so far as the colonists were concerned, that could possibly have been devised. During his eight years of administration great progress had been made. The suppression of native insurrection had revived colonisation,

which had ceased altogether with the receipt of the news of the Wairau massacre. The white population had risen from 12,774 to 28,000, and the advance of trade was indicated by the increase of customs revenue from £8,809 to £50,527.

The first elections for the Provincial Councils, which took place in 1853, gave rise to much excitement. The press was full of electioneering articles, and squibs and libels were bandied about with a freedom that caused much heart-burning and led in several instances to litigation. In all the Southern Provinces the Maoris were more or less indifferent, but at Auckland they were keenly interested in scenes which occur on every hustings, but which to them were novel and singular. Assembling in some force, they watched the proceedings of the excited electors, and seem to have been somewhat alarmed by the violent gestures of the orators and the shouts of the mob. When roars of laughter greeted some sally of a speaker or his discomfiture at receiving a well directed flour-bag or other missile dear to practical jokers on these occasions, they began to realise the spirit of the thing and joined in the fun. One ill-advised speaker referred to the "cannibal propensities" of a portion of his audience, but his remark was received with yells of disapproval by the white electors, both supporters and opponents. Although few of them were on the electoral roll, there is little doubt that the establishment of popular government among the colonists left a strong impression on the minds of the Maoris and stimulated the desires many of them already entertained for a more effectual rule among themselves.

The Colonial Office allowed two years to elapse before it sent a successor to Grey. In the meantime

the affairs of the Colony were administered by Colonel Wynyard, who, in addition to being senior military officer in New Zealand, enjoyed the further distinction of having recently been elected Superintendent of the Province of Auckland. This plurality of offices was the subject of much comment, and the Secretary of State declared it incompatible with the spirit of the constitution. Wynyard was primarily a soldier, with little experience in politics; it was natural, therefore, that he should come under the influence of astute wirepullers like Attorney-General Swainson and Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

The first General Assembly met on May the 24th, 1854. It was composed of representative men from all the settlements. Many of them were men of marked ability; probably, indeed, no Colonial Parliament has ever attained so high an average of intelligence and political capacity; and yet its proceedings made it the laughing-stock of Australasia. For this it was not wholly responsible. Its members were eager to get to work, but could at first find no means of bringing their forces to bear. No specific provision had been made in the Act for the establishment of responsible government, and the elected House found itself excluded from any share in the Government except by the tedious method of addresses. The old Executive Council still existed and was disposed to fight for its privileges. After a stormy debate, which lasted for three days, the House presented an address to the Acting-Governor, urging him to take measures to establish responsible government. Wynyard replied that the Act said nothing on the point, and that he was unable to dismiss his Patent officers without instructions from England. He agreed, however, to add three mem-

bers from the General Assembly to the Executive Council, the three Patent members of which expressed themselves as willing to retire should suitable pensions be allowed them. This compromise was accepted, and Messrs. Fitzgerald and Sewell, of Canterbury, and Mr. Weld, of Nelson, were sworn in as members of the Executive Council, and therefore as responsible advisers of the Governor. Mr. Fitzgerald was styled Prime Minister. The arrangement did not prove a success, for friction, born of misunderstanding and intrigue, soon arose between the old members and the new. Gibbon Wakefield, who had taken a leading part in the agitation for a responsible ministry, lost the confidence of the House by constituting himself the secret Mentor of the Acting-Governor. His duplicity, and the cool effrontery of his intrigues, delivered him of further influence and discredited him, even in the eyes of men who most appreciated the great services he had rendered the cause of colonisation. "After a painful experience, for a few weeks, of carrying on their backs the politically dead body of old officialdom, Messrs. Fitzgerald, Sewell and Weld resigned." They gave out as their reason, that the Acting-Governor had refused to fulfil a verbal promise to call upon the Patent members of the Executive Council to resign. His justification was that no Pension Bill had been passed, and, that being so, it was impossible for him to turn his old advisers adrift. But the House, irritated by Wakefield's defection, and by the general position of affairs, were little inclined to listen to excuses. When Wynyard sent a message proroguing the Assembly for a fortnight, it was flung upon the table unread, the standing orders were suspended, and resolutions were passed, stopping

supplies and denouncing Wakefield. Alarmed by the illegality of these proceedings, some of the members endeavoured to leave the chamber, but the Sergeant-at-arms was ordered to lock the door; and when escape was sought through a door in the strangers' gallery, Mr. Sewell, with more agility than dignity, leapt into the gallery and put the key of the door in his pocket. Shortly afterwards this irascible athlete and politician—an educated gentleman, also—occupied himself in punching the ribs of a member who refused to remove his hat. The Governor's message was then read and the Assembly broke up in no amiable frame of mind.

Another attempt to form a mixed ministry was equally fruitless. The Governor's address at the opening of the second sitting (August 31) contained several startling propositions. He proposed to make the Legislative Council elective, to give power to the superintendents to dissolve Provincial Councils, to "form a federal convention apart from the General Assembly," and to bring in a bill establishing responsible government. During the recess a new ministry had been formed, consisting of Mr. Forsaith of Auckland, Mr. Jerningham Wakefield of Canterbury, Mr. Travers of Nelson and Mr. Macandrew of Otago, and it was with their approval that the Governor had framed his scheme of reform. The House, however, conscious of the absurdity as well as illegality of some of the proposals, carried a vote of want of confidence and the "Clean Shirt" Ministry ceased to exist. Weary of chaos, the members then agreed to carry on with the old Executive Council until proper steps could be taken to initiate responsible government. Supplies were voted, and several urgent measures were rushed through, the

most important being one intended to confer upon the Provincial Councils the entire management of waste lands—a measure disallowed by the Home Government.

The session of 1855 was attended by few of the Southern members, for it was generally understood that the meeting would be little more than formal. The Acting-Governor had been informed by the Colonial Office that responsible government could be inaugurated without further legislation; the Secretary of State, in fact, wrote as if the local wrangling on the point had been much ado about nothing. In September, Governor Colonel T. Gore Browne had arrived. In proroguing the General Assembly, he announced his intention of governing by responsible ministries, but, in order to carry out that intention, he deemed it necessary to dissolve Parliament and begin afresh with a general election.

When Parliament assembled in 1856 some weeks of unstable equilibrium followed. In less than a month two ministries—one led by Mr. Sewell and another by Sir William Fox—had been formed and overthrown, and it was not till Sir Edward Stafford became Prime Minister that a working majority was obtained. It was soon seen that the old political war cries were to be conspicuous by their absence, and that the struggle was to be between those who favoured a strong central government and those who wished to make everthing subsidiary to the Provinces and their Councils. Stafford, though moderate in his views, and not averse to conceding ample local government, found himself obliged to side with the Colonial or Centralist party. The heat that was engendered during a contest that lasted nearly twenty years seems somewhat ridiculous at the present day.

The extreme Provincialists would have divided some 30,000 people, of the same race and having the same ideals, into six petty republics, each jealous of the other, each jostling the other for the loaves and fishes that a weak and complaisant Central authority could be induced to bestow. Such aims, it might be supposed, could not have thriven save in the burlesque atmosphere of Gilbertian operetta; yet, for years, intelligent men in New Zealand fought tooth and nail to prolong the day of small things. Thanks to Sir George Grey's blunder in putting the cart before the horse, the Provincial Governments had entered upon a vigorous and precocious career before the General Assembly had emerged from its infancy. They were not only loath to part with any of their legal privileges; they agitated for more and more power, and concessions were made which introduced into the finances of the Colony complications which only the abolition of Provinces could get rid of. From the outset they had striven for the right to dispose of their Crown Lands and to appropriate the revenue arising from that source. The Stafford Ministry yielded to their demands and passed an Act by which the Colonial Legislature abandoned to them the control of public lands. This concession gave the Councils ample means of carrying on the work of colonisation, of constructing the roads and bridges which were always the burden of their song, but it led to other results which were far from desirable. In the North Island the greater part of the land was still in the possession of the Maoris; consequently little Crown land was available, and only a small revenue. In the South Island, on the other hand, there was no native difficulty, and there was abundance of land. Canterbury and Otago, therefore,

enjoyed large revenues and were "basking in financial sunshine." The Northern Provinces, less fortunate, were always in financial straits, out of which they had to be helped by the advancement of loans by the Colonial Parliament.

Not satisfied with the control of the land revenues, the Councils next secured a certain proportion of the Customs revenue; and then a Provincial Loans Act was passed, by means of which impecunious or go-ahead Provinces could borrow money at their own sweet will. As the General Assembly at first refused to become liable for loans of this character, the Provinces had to pay a very high rate of interest. In 1867, however, the Colonial Legislature had to assume the whole of the liability incurred by the Provinces.

Another question which soon forced itself into prominence was the native policy. With the sanction of the Imperial Government, Gore Browne had retained in his own hands the purchase of native lands and other matters affecting the Maoris; a reservation which was to some extent justified by the omission from the Constitution Act of any practicable provision for Maori representation. The Imperial Government had pledged itself time and again to safe-guard the interests of the natives, and under the circumstances it is difficult to see how Gore Browne could have acted differently. At the same time experience soon proved that the system adopted was far from easy to carry out. "Whatever nominal arrangements might be made, the Governor could have no real power unless he had also, what he had not, the command of the purse-strings; and the Ministers, as the representatives of the colonists, would practically be held responsible for any serious

mischance resulting to the Colony from the independent action of the Governor, for native questions also, more or less, intimately affected the colonists; and on any serious point of difference with the Governor, the Ministers would not only be bound to remonstrate, but, if he persisted, also to resign." * A Native Department was created, at the head of which was the Native Secretary, whose business it was to make the first investigation into any case and then to express an opinion as to the action he deemed it advisable to follow. It was then the custom to refer to the so-called native Minister, who also expressed his opinion, but it was from the Governor that the final decision must come. In practice, therefore, the Governor never acted without consulting the Ministry, though he was not bound to accept their advice. The position both of Governor and Parliament was anomalous. Parliament alone could legislate and supply money; but the Governor was nominally despotic in exercising the powers conferred upon him by an Act of the Legislature. A system in which power and responsibility were thus divided, had failure writ large upon it, and it is a matter for surprise that friction was not more frequent than it was.

The officer appointed as Native Secretary was Mr., afterwards Sir, Donald McLean, who, from his knowledge of the language and customs and character of the Maoris, was singularly well fitted for the position. He had all the qualities which in the eyes of the natives themselves constituted the successful negotiator. He was imperturbable, infinitely patient, and when he chose, sphinxlike. No European

* Gisborne, *New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen*.

understood better what was meant by the Maori expression *taihoa* (wait, don't be in a hurry). The natives were experts in the art of dallying, of waiting for the psychological moment: Sir Donald McLean beat them at their own game, and they respected him accordingly.

As an illustration of his use of their own weapons, the following story is told: On one occasion he visited in his capacity of Land Purchase Commissioner, a Maori chief from whom the Government was anxious to purchase a large block of land. Long negotiations had preceded the interview, but had come to nothing. Accompanied by an attendant bearing two bags of gold, he entered the village, and was received with the utmost politeness and hospitality. The object of his mission was well known, but the talk, which lasted far into the night, contained no allusion to land purchase. At length McLean, rolling his blanket round him, prepared to sleep, first, however, having instructed his attendant to hand the bags of gold to the chief for safe-keeping. The chief emptied the contents of the bags on a mat, and he and others amused themselves for hours in counting the gold pieces and arranging them in various combinations. In the morning the bags were returned to the attendant, who found the contents correct. Another day passed in friendly chat, and in the evening the gold was again handed to the chief who amused himself as before, and returned it to the attendant.

On the morning of the third day Sir Donald ordered his horse and prepared to depart. The usual ceremonious parting greetings had been said. From the chief,

"Go on your journey safely."

From the knight,

"Remain at your village in peace."

Still not a word was said about land, either by the white chief or the black one. Sir Donald had his foot in stirrup, wondering which would be the victor in this silent contest. He had played the game of *Taihoa* persistently and well, and won it, for, at the instant of departure, with his hand on Sir Donald's bridle, the Maori chief, unable longer to restrain himself, said abruptly:

"Why does my friend not speak about the land; does he not know I wish to sell it?"

"Do you?" carelessly replied the Land Purchase Commissioner. "Why did you not tell me your wish before?"

The horses were passed over to two Maori boys, the Chief and the Knight re-entered the house, and in ten minutes, 100,000 acres of land had been purchased, and £1000 had been paid in deposit on account of the purchase.

It is said that Sir Donald had practised *Taihoa* so long that his department became a circumlocution office notorious for its want of punctuality. Like most specialists also he was somewhat of an autocrat; it was either Cæsar or nobody with him where native affairs were concerned.

The native policy of the Government was further weakened by the mistake of joining the Native Secretary's Office and the Land Purchase Office, McLean being Secretary as well as Land Purchase Commissioner. The effect of this union was to convince the natives that the real object of the Government was the purchase of land, a subject upon which they had always been suspicious. Unconsciously, therefore, our administration of native affairs played directly

into the hands of Maori kingmakers and Land-leaguers. Another, and less pardonable mistake, was the relaxation of Grey's measure prohibiting the sale of firearms to the Maoris, a concession in the interest of white traders for which we had to pay dearly.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE "SUGAR AND FLOUR POLICY."

SINCE Heke's war the natives had been quiescent, and the colonists, espcially those of them who never came in contact with the Maoris, had almost lost sight of the native question. They were fully occupied with the extension of settlement and with the establishment of representative government, and so concerned themselves little with what was passing among the tribes of the North Island. In peace our race is ever sceptical of the possibility of war, and New Zealanders as a whole had settled down to the comfortable conviction that fighting was a thing of the past. Yet men who were acquainted with the facts of the case had an uneasy feeling that we were sleeping on a volcano. Forces were at work, especially among the Waikato tribes, which, unless diverted by greater wisdom than we had usually shewn in our treatment of the native race, could only end in one way. Government had done much, the settlers as a body had never been guilty of "wilful injustice or oppression," yet the net result had been distrust and widespread discontent among the Maoris. Many causes contributed to this condition of affairs; but the chief cause was our policy of drift and non-intervention, combined with the natural antipathy of the Maori to part with land, and his growing national ambition.

Could Grey have remained a few years longer, to

watch over the development of his protégés, trouble might have been averted. The "sugar and flour" policy, begun by him, became, in other hands, merely a cheap way of getting rid of our responsibilities in relation to the Maoris, and in the end it helped to demoralise them.

In pursuance of its scheme for educating and civilising the natives, the Government subsidised the native schools conducted by the various denominations, but it was unable to exercise any efficient control over the management of these institutions. A Colonial Act of 1858 laid down certain conditions as, for example, that the children should have industrial training, be taught to read and write, and sleep on the school premises; but no inspectors were appointed to see that these conditions were fulfilled. At first the schools were very popular, the industrial training being specially attractive to the natives, and were soon overcrowded; but as the Government was not in a position to increase its subsidies, economy had to be practised to such an extent that the children were often poorly fed and clothed, and their welfare generally neglected. The original scheme was in every way excellent, but the Government seems to have been under the impression that annual grants of money were all that could be expected of it, and so it let things drift until the schools ceased to have any influence over the Maoris. The missionaries found that their influence was also on the wane.

To encourage industry and to promote more settled habits among the natives, the Government, following Grey's example, continued to make presents to them of ploughs, flour-mills, horses, grass-seed, etc. This was the "flour and sugar" policy. At first it seemed a great success. White labourers and

mechanics were welcomed as instructors; large areas of land were cleared of fern and turned into wheat fields; mills were built; better houses erected; and many Maoris became almost wealthy. A most encouraging sign was the anxiety they showed to become skilled in European arts. In some places they founded and supported out of their own pockets industrial schools, at which white artisans taught tailoring, shoemaking, smith's work, carpentry, and such other trades as appealed to their employers. But in a few years unexpected results began to disclose themselves. Presents either in money or kind became little more than bribes, and unscrupulous chiefs were quick to perceive the advantages of the system. Why should they work or depend on their own efforts, when they could beg or bully from the Government what they wanted? Many of them had borrowed considerable sums from the Governor, and were not remarkable for their punctuality in repaying these loans. Some, indeed, simply squandered what they got and then asked for more as the price of their friendship. The Native Department at Auckland was beset by swaggering bullies, whose appetite for presents was insatiable. The policy, carried out, as it was, without system, and without any serious attempt being made to supply the Maoris with the means of internal government, proved in the end a curse rather than a blessing. "It is altogether a mistaken notion," wrote a gentleman who was intimately acquainted with native affairs, "to suppose that we are attaching the natives to us, and securing their allegiance to the Crown, by the bestowment of presents and granting of loans. In most instances this is positively injurious, fostering idleness and covetousness, and causing the chiefs to lay

aside that self-respect which raised them so far above the generality of barbarians."

In 1861 Colonel Browne wrote: "Some of the most populous districts, such as Hokianga and Kaipara, have no magistrates resident among them; and many, such as Taupo, the Ngatiruanui, Taranaki, and the country about the East Cape, have never been visited by an officer of the Government. The residents in these districts have never felt that they are subjects of the Queen of England, and have little reason to think that the Government of the country cares at all about their welfare." We have here a clear statement of the weakness of the native policy. We gave them schools, horses, ploughs, money, but we omitted to provide them with any system of government, in the absence of which our charity merely debauched them. Sir George Grey had made a beginning by the appointment of magistrates and native assessors in certain districts. Little progress was made, however, for the magistrates were in most cases confined to the English settlements, and the assessors were not always desirable associates in the work of dispensing justice to their fellow Maoris. The chiefs, it is true, were immensely proud of the honour and of the small emoluments conferred upon them as assessors, but their zeal outran their judgment and knowledge. The fines levied by them as penalties were often ridiculously excessive. Ti Oriori, a Waikato magistrate, with English sympathies, enforced the claims of the settlers with a fine disregard of justice to his countrymen. Needless to say he grew rich on commissions. Another chief who had set up a court of his own at Raglan, on one occasion condemned a Maori to pay a certain fine. "After waiting three years for the

money, he waylaid the defaulter at the house of an English magistrate, whither the latter had come to receive some money, and informed the magistrate that he was about to levy execution after the primitive fashion of knocking a man down and taking the money out of his pocket. The magistrate expostulated and begged him, if quite determined, at least to wait till the man was off his (the magistrate's) land, and not make a disturbance on his place. To this Heteraka consented, and accordingly this energetic judge, with two comrades, chased the recusant from the magistrate's house, overtook him, knocked him down, took his money out of his breeches pocket, helped himself to the fine, the costs of the hearing, £1 as the cost of this singular execution, and then gave him back the rest of the money." *

In 1857 the Ministry urged upon Governor Browne the desirability of taking measures to aid the Maoris in the efforts they were making to secure law and order among themselves, and Mr. F. D. Fenton, who had been resident magistrate at Kaipara, was asked to draw up a code of laws which might be applied in native districts under the supervision of European officers. Mr. Fenton had knowledge and ability equal to the task, but, unfortunately, the Government had committed the mistake of making his position independent of the Native Secretary's Department. McLean and Fenton were not well fitted to pull together, but when each was made independent of the other—when, in other words, two Native Departments were created—the result was an outburst of jealousy and discord which ended in the abandonment of the scheme and the removal of Mr. Fenton to another position.

* Gorst, *The Maori King.*

In 1858 Parliament, at the instance of the Governor, passed the Native Districts Regulation Bill, and the Native Circuits Courts Bill. The first empowered the Governor to make bye-laws for observance in native districts, these laws to be framed as far as possible in harmony with the wishes of the Maori *runangas;* and the second gave him power to appoint itinerant courts of justice for the trial of native cases. Very little good came of these excellent measures. They arrived too late to check the ferment which for years past had been gathering strength in the Waikato district.

The net result of our native policy, then, was failure. The Maoris, left to drift into a state of anarchy, were discontented and suspicious, and some of them like Wiremu Tamihana, the king-maker, seeing the evil case of their countrymen, about, as they thought, to be swallowed up in the resistless tide of white immigration, created and fostered, by every means in their power, a desire for a separate Maori nationality. It is said that in 1854 Wi Tamihana had come to Auckland, with a code of laws in his pocket drawn up by him by way of suggestion for the better government of the Maori. Perhaps the granting of a Constitution to the *Pakehas* had inspired this step; for the young chieftain, a promising pupil of the missionaries and a close student of the Old Testament, was well informed and sought earnestly for some means of ameliorating the lot of his people. He was a stranger, however; at Auckland none knew him and officialdom closed its doors in his face; and proud, but sensitive and refined, he could not condescend to the bullying tactics, which other chiefs had employed with success. Disappointed and thrown back on his own resources, he

returned to his home at Peria to mature his plans for the making of a Maori nation. Peria, which thus became the centre of the agitation for a Maori king, merits some description, for under the guidance of Tamihana it had become a model village. It was situated on undulating, hilly country, the hilltops crowned by the *wharés* of the various *hapus*. The *wharés* were surrounded by plantations of wheat, maize, kumeras and potatoes, and by groves of peach trees. A Maori built church and post office stood on separate eminences. In the valley were the mill, and the school-house, where the Chief himself took an active part in teaching the scholars. The people were industrious and thriving and enjoyed the Arcadian simplicity of their lives.

Wi Tamihana was a man of peace and the schemes that were simmering in his brain did not contemplate a resort to war. Had the Government co-operated more tactfully with him in his efforts to obtain better local government for the Maoris, the King movement might have fizzled out harmlessly. As time went on, it became clear to him that the Maoris must help themselves. His thoughts then took a bolder flight. The tribes must combine and form a Maori nation, so as to present an unbroken barrier to the inroads of the white men, and he saw no way of bringing about this unification of the tribes except by setting up a king, whose *mana* would be respected by all. Equally essential it seemed to put an end to the further sale of land. Tamihana was thus a land-leaguer, but many who agreed with him in his desire to keep the land, declined to have anything to do with Kingism. These two things, the creation of a king and the refusal to part with land, were, however, only means to an end.

Tamihana had been made to feel the social inferiority of the Maori in the eyes of the white man and he resolved to elevate his race so that, if possible, their degradation might be removed. For that reason he encouraged education, agriculture, and laboured to exclude, from the territories over which he had influence, the curse of strong drink.

A letter, written by him to Colonel Browne in 1861, expresses in quaint language some of the motives which actuated him. "I thought," he says, "that a great house should be built as a house of assembly for the tribes that were living at feud in New Zealand, and would not cleave to one another. The house was built, it was Babel. Then I applied my thoughts to seek for some plan by which the Maori tribes should cleave together and assemble together, so that the people might become one, like the Pakehas. The Ngatipaoa were invited, and they came to me and joined the talk for good. Afterwards the Ngatimatera were invited, and they came; afterwards the Ngatiwhakane were invited, and they came; afterwards the Ngatiwhanaunga were invited, and they came. However, they were mere meetings: evil still went on—the river of blood was not yet stopped. The missionaries behaved bravely, and so did I; but the flow of blood did not cease. When you came, the river of blood was still open, and I therefore sought for some plan to make it cease; I considered how this blood could be made to diminish in the island. I looked at your books where Israel cried to have a king to themselves, to be a judge over them; and I looked at the word of Moses, in Deuteronomy xvii. 15, and at Proverbs xxix., and I kept these words in my memory through all the years; the land feuds continuing,

blood still being spilt, and I still meditating on the matter. In the year 1857, Te Heu Heu called a meeting at Taupo, at which sixteen hundred men were present. When the news of this meeting reached me I said, I will consent to this, to assist my work. I began at these words of the Book of I Samuel viii: 5, 'Give us a king to judge us.' This was why I set up Potatau, in 1857. On his being set up, the blood at once ceased, and has so remained up to the present year. The reason why I set up Potatau as a king for me, was because he was a man of extended influence, and a man who was revered by the people of this island. That, my friend, was why I set him up. To put down my trouble, to hold the lands of the slaves, and to judge the offences of the chiefs, the king was set up. The runangas were set up; the magistrates were set up; and the Faith was set up. The works of my ancestors have ceased; they are diminishing at the present time. What I say is, the blood of the Maoris has ceased."

In this letter Wi Tamihana refers prineipally to the condition of lawlessness and division which prevailed among the Maoris themselves; he makes no allusion to their grievances against the white men. Yet these existed and fanned the irritation. Among them were (1) the sale of rum, which, although illegal, was carried on by disreputable white smugglers with impunity; (2) the abandonment of half-caste children by their white fathers; (3) friction between outlying settlers and neighbouring Maoris; and (4) the growing apprehension that the government policy was directed to one end—the confiscation of their lands.

Reformers frequently protested against the contin-

uance of the rum traffic, and Wi Tamihana compelled every European settler in his territory to sign an undertaking to pay £1 for every native found drunk on his premises. But the evil continued unabated; both natives and white traders conspired to defeat the intentions of the law.

The desertion of half-caste children was of very frequent occurrence, and "tended," as Mr. Fenton wrote, "to lower the character of Europeans generally in the eyes of the natives." The unfortunate children themselves grew up utterly neglected, outcasts of both races, and combining the evil qualities of each. The Maoris regarded this treatment of their women as a mark of their own social inferiority in the eyes of the colonists, and they resented it bitterly. When Colonel Browne attended the great *runanga* at Rangiriri (April, 1857) Te Heu Heu, the great Taupo chief, delivered himself of passionate denunciations of the contemptuous treatment to which his countrymen were subjected. He told the Governor that whilst the low-caste Englishman was welcomed and treated hospitably by the Maoris, their own chiefs, when visiting Auckland, were made to smart under countless petty insults; that the Englishmen living among them were desperate characters, who ill-treated native women and debauched native men with drink, who allowed their cattle to trespass on native cultivations and refused to make compensation for damage done. In all this we see the pathetic but angry cry of a sensitive race for social equality.

The outsettlers, against whom portion of Te Heu Heu's denunciation was directed, were, no doubt, guilty of indiscretions, but they were as much sinned against as sinning. Mostly small farmers living

in rough wooden "shanties" surrounded by a few fields which they had fenced in, they allowed their live stock to roam at large. Their cattle wandering into native cultivations, which were never protected by fences, often played havoc with wheat and maize crops; and the Maori pigs returned the compliment by breaking through the settler's fences and rooting up his potatoes. But as the settler was generally far removed from any neighbour whose help he might call in, and as he rarely provided himself with firearms, the Maoris invariably got the better of him in squabbles relating to trespass. Tomahawks whirled over his head induced the proper degree of meekness, and then the Maoris carried off a cow or horse as payment. These border troubles, to a large extent neglected by the Government, became a festering sore and produced irritation and estrangement between both races.

But all the discontent of the Maoris centred round the Land Question. For a time the Government had little difficulty in procuring sufficient land for the colonists. The greed of the natives for weapons and money equalled the greed of the colonist for land, but the very readiness of some to part with land led to frequent quarrels and bloodshed among the natives themselves. The right of tribes to sell was frequently questioned by other tribes who revived ancient claims of their own. For example, the Ngatimaniopotos having conquered another tribe and seized their territory, gave some of it to their kinsmen, the Waikatos; but when the latter sold a small portion to the settlers, the Ngatimaniopotos reasserted their ownership and forbade any further sales. Moreover, the Maoris seem to have been under some misapprehension as to the nature of land

purchase. They believed that they still retained some sort of dominion over the land sold to the settler, and regarded him simply as an occupier whose presence was a source of some honour and a good deal of profit to them. They were soon disillusionised. The land was gone for ever; and then they began to discover that they were being cheated in the price, for the Government bought at sixpence an acre, or less, and charged the settler ten shillings an acre. Intelligent Maoris, moreover, began to ask when this buying of land would stop. They would soon be eaten up by the pakeha. It is not surprising, therefore, that land leagues flourished and gained adherents every day, until they embraced nearly all the powerful tribes.

It was not till it was announced that the Maoris were about to hold a great meeting at Rangiriri to elect a king that the Government appears to have felt any uneasiness in regard to the talk about a king and a separate nationality. The Governor then decided to attend the meeting and see for himself how far these movements were to be taken seriously. During his tour he had interviews with many prominent chiefs. He found that although most of them professed loyalty to the Queen there was an almost universal desire to have a chief or king of their own selection who should be able to weld them into a nation and protect their rights. At Rangiriri speeches were made to the Governor in the presence of the aged Te Whero Whero (Potatau), in which runangas, a European magistrate, and laws were asked for; and when the Governor promised to send a magistrate to Waikato and to frame laws for the Maoris, they took off their hats and shouted "Hurrah!" Potatau, who all along had shown a strong disincli-

nation to be made king, said "he would be guided by the Governor's advice, and that he was dying and should bequeath his people to the Governor's care." Deceived by this friendly reception the Governor returned to Auckland, convinced that the king agitation would be abandoned.

In the meantime between two and three thousand natives had assembled at Rangiriri and leading men among them expressed their opinions on the question of a king. Some of these speeches are extremely interesting both for the light they cast upon the grievances of the Maoris and also upon the genesis of their desire for a king of their own. It will be seen that frequent references are made by the speakers to the history of the Hebrews; the Old Testament, in fact, was the Maori handbook of politics, to which they made confident appeal on the most diverse subjects. The debate was prefaced by an address by one of the native teachers on temper and moderation. Paora said: God is good. Israel was his people. They had a king. I see no reason why any nation should not have a king, if they wish for one. The Gospel does not say we are not to have a king: it says, "Honour the king; love the brotherhood." Why should the Queen be angry? We shall be in alliance with her, and friendship will be preserved. The Governor does not stop murders and fights amongst us. A king will be able to do that. Let us have order, so that we may grow as the Pakehas grow. Why should we disappear from the country? New Zealand is ours: I love it.

Takirau: That is the road—that word "friendship." But it applies to both sides. Our king will be friendly with the Queen. Their flags will be tied together. (Hoists the king's flag, and ties it to

the Queen's.) I say let us be like all other lands that have kings, and glory and honour. Let the blessing of God, which rests on the lands and their kings, rest upon us. If I ask the Queen to leave her throne, I should be wrong; all I ask is, that the dignity which now rests on her should rest on our king; so that this land may be in peace, and may be honoured. Let the Queen and the Pakehas occupy the coast, and be a fence round us.

Wiremu Nera: I am a small man and a fool. Ngatihaua, be not dark, Waikato listen, Taupo attend. My name has been heard of in the old day, and sometimes it is still mentioned. I am going to speak mildly, like a father. My word is this, I promised the first Governor, when he came to see me, and I promised all the rest, that I would stick to him, and be a subject to the Queen. I intend to keep my promise, for they have kept theirs; they have taken no land. Mine was the desire to sell, and they gave me the money. Why do you bring that new flag here? There is trouble in it. I am content with the old one. It is seen all over the world, and it belongs to me. I get some of its honour! What honour can I get from your flag? It is like a fountain without water. You say we are slaves. If acknowledging that flag makes me a slave, I am a slave. Let me alone.

There was half an hour's silence after this counterblast. Then Wiremu Tamihana arose and said: I am sorry my father has spoken so strongly. He has killed me. I love New Zealand. I want order and laws. The king can give us these better than the Governor; the Governor has never done anything except when a Pakeha is killed. He lets us kill each other and fight. A king would stop these evils.

However, if you don't like the king, pull down his flag. Let Rewi pull it down if you wish it.

Rewi stepped forward and threw the king's flag at the foot of the Union Jack. Tarahawaiki (re-hoisting the flag): I love New Zealand. It shall not lie down in this way. Let it look at the sun and we will support it.

Waata Kukutai: Let the flag stand, but wash out the writing on it. Let us not talk like children, but find out some real good for ourselves. The white men have the money, the knowledge—everything, I shall remain a subject of the Queen and look up to her flag as my flag for ever and ever. If you follow your road you will get benighted, get into a swamp, and either stick there or come out covered with mud.

Tarahawaiki got up in anger and was about to speak, when a native teacher cried out, "Let us pray." The debate then terminated for the day.

It was continued the next day, some counselling patience and friendship, others like the hot-headed Te Heu Heu advocating the total separation of races and the driving of the Pakehas into the sea; but it was clear that the violent party were as yet in a minority. No definite policy was determined on; the object of the runanga was simply to test the state of feeling among the tribes and to give Wi Tamihana an opportunity of guiding it in the direction he wished it to go.

In order to allay the excitement Mr. Fenton was appointed Resident Magistrate of Waikato and in July, 1857, left Auckland with "200 lbs. weight of books, paper and ink," to take up his duties. Courts were held at various villages, the names of persons suitable for the positions of assessors obtained, and much useful information collected. But

the attempt to civilise the Maoris by encouraging them to "play at courts" was soon temporarily abandoned owing, as related above, to differences between Mr. Fenton and the Native Secretary. The former was placed under the control of the latter, but although he was again allowed to make another circuit in the Waikato, friction continued and the appointment was cancelled. The result was that promises made by Mr. Fenton to the natives were unfulfilled, and the natives characterised the proceedings of the Government as *maminga* or humbug. To quote the words of a report drawn up by a Parliamentary Committee in 1860, "his withdrawal disheartened a large and influential body of natives, including many influential chiefs who associated themselves with him and were actively engaged on the side of the Government. They were disappointed and humiliated at the sudden abandonment of their undertaking. Many of them joined the king party, and this, amongst other causes, has tended to irritate and give a more malign influence to the King movement itself."

Simultaneously with Fenton's withdrawal Potatau was elected Maori king at Ngaruawahia. Thus united into a loose confederation the tribes looked forward with some complacency to a conflict with the Pakehas. Gore Browne's foolish relaxation of the restrictions imposed by Grey upon the sale of muskets and gunpowder, had enabled them to accumulate within three years £50,000 of war material. The train was laid and it only wanted a spark to explode the mine.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TEIRA'S LAND.

The King movement might still have remained the plaything of peaceful dreamers like Wi Tamihana, had it not been for the unfortunate land complications which existed in Taranaki. Fitzroy's reversal of Commissioner Spain's award had the effect of cooping the colonists up in the town and suburbs of New Plymouth and of embittering the relations between the settlers and the Maoris. Sir George Grey had found it impracticable to overrule Fitzroy's decision, without reverting to war, but he had done his best, by judicious purchases, to secure elbow-room for the colonists. Gradually the settlement extended itself along the coast, and thanks to a fine climate and a fertile soil, some degree of prosperity began to attend the efforts of the harassed farmers; but they chafed at the sight of millions of acres lying almost idle in the hands of Maori land-leaguers. Maori exiles continuing to return materially strengthened the hands of those who were opposed to selling more land. Wiremu Kingi, who for some time past had lived at Waikanae in Cook's Straits, migrated with his followers to Waitara, in spite of Grey's threat to prevent him by force, and events soon happened which brought him into conflict with the Government and made him the champion of the Maori land-leaguers.

For a time the Taranaki natives were like a house

divided against itself. In the intervals of bullying the colonists, they quarrelled with each other over the land and their feuds led to much savage bloodletting. In general these feuds arose out of the desire of individuals or portions of tribes to sell land, and although they were at first confined to the Maoris themselves it was evident that, sooner or later, the settlers would be embroiled. Murders occurred with alarming frequency, sometimes on the public roads, sometimes even on the farms of the settlers. A victim of one of these outrages was Katatore, a relative of Wi Kingi, who was killed in the most brutal manner by a chief named Ihaia, who excused his action on the ground that he was avenging the murder of a relative. As Ihaia was prominent among the land-selling party, the settlers took his side and the Provincial Council white-washed him as a "friendly, honest character," although it was notorious that he was a mischief-making savage, neither true to his countrymen nor to the colonists.

At length in 1859 Wiremu Kingi, who had obtained a dominating influence over the Taranaki natives, informed Governor Browne that no more land would be sold and warned him against listening to individual offers. Shortly afterwards the Governor visited Taranaki and in the course of an address to the settlers he declared his intention to remain neutral in native disputes and to "purchase no land without the consent of all who had a claim on it." At the same time he warned the Maoris that he would punish outrages committed by members of either race within the limits of the settlement; and further that he would not permit any one to interfere in the sale of any land of which he was not an owner in whole or part. Thereupon a Maori named Teira

got up and offered his land at Waitara for sale. The Governor accepted the offer, provided a satisfactory title could be made out. Wi Kingi (Te Rangitake) then rose. "Listen! Governor!" said he. "Notwithstanding Teira's offer I will not permit the sale of Waitara to the Pakeha. Waitara is in my hands, I will not give it up! Never! Never! Never! I have spoken!" After that he abruptly withdrew accompanied by his followers.

Teira's title to the land was investigated by an officer of the Native Department and the evidence educed at the inquiry convinced the Governor that Teira had a perfect right to sell, and that Kingi's interference could not be justified. In arriving at this conclusion, several circumstances, apparently through no carelessness on the part of the officer who made the inquiry, had been left out of consideration; in fact, they do not seem to have come to light until three years after the purchase had been decided upon. It was then ascertained that Kingi, on his migration to Waitara, had intended to settle on the northern bank of the river, where his own territory was situated; but, that, apprehending an attack from the Ngatimaniopoto, he had taken up his residence, at Teira's invitation, on the southern side, where he had erected a "land-title" pa and cultivated some ground. The sale of the land, therefore, touched him more closely than was at first suspected. White sympathisers, among whom were Bishop Selwyn and Chief Justice Martin, advanced the further argument in his favour, that, as a chief, he had, in accordance with Maori custom, a clear right to forbid the alienation of the land. However this may be, it is clear that the Governor and his advisers acted in good faith, and were conscientious in their

opinion that Kingi was merely a troublesome meddler.

After giving due notice, the Governor sent a party of surveyors to the Waitara purchase; but the operations of those gentlemen were brought to an ignominious close. The survey was resisted not by armed warriors, but by a band of the ugliest women in the tribe, who put the surveyors to flight by their unsavoury endearments, and carried off the chain. Colonel Murray, who was in command of the soldiers then in Taranaki, wrote to Wi Kingi that unless resistance were abandoned, he should be obliged to occupy the land with troops; and as Kingi persisted in his opposition the threat was carried out. The first act of the war was an attack on Kingi's pa, which, after two days' bombardment, was evacuated by the natives. Thus began an unfortunate struggle which lasted for many years and soon involved all the tribes who had adopted the flag of the Maori King and the principles of the Land-league.

The effect of the outbreak of hostilities upon the Taranaki settlement was disastrous. Outsettlers abandoned their farms and crowded into New Plymouth, which soon put on the appearance of a military camp; and hundreds of women and children were sent for safety to Nelson and elsewhere. In a few months 3000 regular soldiers, mostly drawn from Australia, were landed in Taranaki, and this force was increased by 500 settlers enrolled as militiamen. The scene of operations was the country extending from Waitara along the coast to Tataraimaka. It was seamed by ravines and waterways from the slopes of Mount Egmont, and the tall fern and forest which covered most of its surface afforded excellent cover for guerilla fighters, and correspond-

ingly embarrassed the evolution of regular troops, who, led by men of mediocre ability, exasperated the colonists by the slowness of their movements, and the maddening cautiousness of their tactics. All through the Maori war, in fact, the Imperial troops were handled so blunderingly that they became the laughing-stock of both races.

So far the quarrel with Wiremu Kingi had not involved the tribes owning the sway of the Maori King, but these were soon to take a hand in the fighting. In December, 1859, an emissary of the Waikatos had called at Waitara and left a flag, which, had it been accepted, would have been taken as a sign of adhesion to the King's cause. Wiremu Kingi was opposed to this step; the quarrel was his and his only. A strong party among the Taranakis, however, were in favour of kingism, and despatched a deputation to the King at Ngaruawahia, and while there the news that fighting had taken place at Waitara arrived at Waikato. It became necessary then to decide whether the king natives should take part in the fray. A chief sent to Waitara to inquire into the validity of Teira's sale, reported that the matter was one which concerned Wi Kingi alone; but the latter had now changed his attitude and wrote a letter in which he consented to join the league, and prayed for the assistance of the Waikatos. A meeting was held at Ngaruawahia, at which Wi Tamihana advised caution, since the merits of the case were not sufficiently clear. "Te Rangitake (Wiremu Kingi) says, the land is his: Teira says, it is his: I say, Let us find out the owner." Opinions were divided; the majority apparently were not in favour of active intervention; but there was a considerable number of young bloods

who were desirous of taking part in the sport of shooting Pakehas. Rewi Maniopoto secretly encouraged them, and a chief named Epiha got together a band of volunteers and, without asking the king's permission, marched off to Taranaki, where they helped to defeat the troops in an attack upon the Puketakauere pa. This pa was situated on an eminence near the Waitara River, its rear and right protected by an almost impassable raupo swamp. The troops despatched to assault this stronghold were divided; one portion under Captain Messenger made a detour to the rear, and the other, led by Major Nelson, executed a night march which brought it, at dawn, in front of the pa. The twenty-four pounders and the mortars immediately opened fire on the stockade, which was splintered to pieces; but when our men, after a wild charge up the hill, had entered the works, they found themselves exposed to a withering fire from rifle-pits cunningly dug in the flanking hillocks. They had been trapped by a foe as "slim" as the modern Boer. The recall was sounded, and so hasty was the retreat that many of the dead and wounded were left on the field. In the meantime, Captain Messenger's men, after struggling through swamp and bush all night, were resting from their labours when the sound of firing reached them. They immediately got under arms, and with bull-dog senselessness endeavoured to force a way through the raupo swamp, where many of them, sunk to the waist in mud and water, were shot or tomahawked by the enemy. Captain Messenger, collecting the remnant of his force, then skirted the swamp, and, after rushing some of the Maori rifle-pits at the rear of the pa, succeeded in effecting a junction with the main body now in full retreat.

The Puketakauere disaster, which cost us thirty killed and thirty-four wounded, covered the Waikato volunteers with glory and inspired numbers to follow their example. The aged Potatau tried to restrain their ardour, but to little purpose, for they were burning to distinguish themselves like their comrades. It became the fashion to spend a portion of the year in Taranaki, plundering the homes abandoned by the settlers and sniping red-coats; but for the present there was no political significance in their action; each acted on his own account, for the sake of the sport and loot. Rewi Maniopoto alone appears to have had ulterior motives; he saw in the Taranaki war an opportunity for hastening a conflict for supremacy between the whole Maori race and the Europeans. In this aim he was aided, unfortunately, by the discussions which took place in the General Assembly and in the newspapers. Many members of Parliament held that Wiremu Kingi was acting within his rights in forbidding the alienation of the Waitara block, which was freely criticised as an iniquitous job, suggested by the Governor's Taranaki advisers. Others urged that it was scandalous that the Crown should be both a party in a land purchase transaction and also the judge to decide upon the merits of its own action. The publicity given to these opinions, and the open espousal of the Maori cause by Bishop Selwyn and Sir William Martin, had the effect of justifying and stimulating the warlike spirit of the Waikatos. Among others, Wetini, a chief of the Ngatihaua, next in position and esteem to Wi Tamihana, went down to Taranaki with a chosen band of young warriors. Tamihana had tried to dissuade him from going: "You are a great warrior. We cannot spare you.

The trouble is coming home to us. You are a great baby, too—guileless as an innocent girl. Wiremu Kingi is a subtle, white man's Maori, without any special sense of honour. He will entrap you, and you will be lost." The warrior listened to these words of wisdom, but was for going all the same. "Then go and stop there," was the parting word of the incensed King-maker.

It was about this time that old Potatau died. A great warrior in the good old days, he had, in late years, always opposed the hot-bloods who wished to plunge the country into war. "Hold fast to love, to law, and to the faith," was his dying injunction to the people who were fast rushing upon self-destruction. There was considerable discussion as to his successor. It was thought by many that Wiremu Tamihana was the most likely man, but his well-known desire to maintain peace had prejudiced him in the eyes of the war party, and probably he was satisfied with his rôle of king-maker. The choice lay between Matutaera Potatau and his sister Paea Potatau. Paea was intelligent and resolute, Matutaera was an effeminate sot, whose only claim to respect was that he was Te Whero Whero's son. Tamihana, however, preferring a puppet whom he could manage, gave his vote for Matutaera, who was accordingly made king.

When Wetini reached Taranaki, he was eager to come to blows with the Pakehas, and Kingi, an astute savage, was quite willing to humour his desire. After some days spent in scouting it was determined to establish a post at Mahoetahi, a knoll about six miles north of New Plymouth, surrounded on all sides but one by flax and raupo swamps. Having selected their battle-ground, they sent a challenge

to General Pratt, who at that time commanded the troops in Taranaki. "Friend," ran this taunting missive, "I have heard your word—come to fight me: that is very good. Come inland and let us meet each other. Fish fight at sea. Come inland and let us stand on our feet. Make haste, make haste. Do not delay. That is all I have to say to you—make haste.

"From Wetini Taiporutu, etc."

General Pratt, somewhat to the surprise of the colonists, decided to accept the challenge, and on the morning of the 6th November, 1860, marched out of New Plymouth with a large force of regulars and a considerable number of volunteers under the command of Major Atkinson. Arriving at Mahoetahi they saw nothing but a hillock in the midst of a raupo swamp.

"Sold again!" muttered the General. The enemy, however, was lying low, confident in Wetini's well conceived plan. He himself with his braves occupied the summit of the hill, as a blind to draw the soldiers, who, as usual, would attempt to storm the position; but Hapurona, Kingi's fighting general, with 800 men, was hidden in some scrub to the right of the ridge by which Mahoetahi was approached, and Kingi himself with 400 was planted in a wooded gulley to the rear of Hapurona. It was a well planned trap. Wetini was to court the full attack of the Pakehas, and Hapurona and Kingi were to fall upon the rear. For some reason or other the plan miscarried: possibly Hapurona and Kingi were not averse to letting Wetini have a lesson: or they found their own position threatened by the unexpected evolutions of our troops.

Having despatched companies right and left to

encircle the position, General Pratt ordered the 65th and the Taranaki volunteers to carry the ridge by assault. When the Maori scouts announced to their chief that the soldiers were approaching he replied, "Wetini is at his breakfast." When they told him that the soldiers had arrived, he replied again, "Wetini is at his breakfast;" but when they announced that the hill was surrounded he said with the utmost composure, "Wetini has finished his breakfast," and then rushed out to engage in a hand-to-hand scuffle with the storming party. He himself was among the first to fall. The ridge was carried in a moment, and the remnant of the Ngatihaua, taking refuge in the swamp, were chased hither and thither by the excited soldiers and volunteers, and cut to pieces, with the exception of a small number who managed to escape by hiding in the fern. Hapurona's concealed force fired a volley in the air and then took refuge in flight. The fall of Wetini, though bewailed in many a *tangi* by his kinsmen in Waikato, so far from crushing the spirit of the king tribes, merely egged them on to retrieve their damaged reputation. Numbers of adventurers and sympathisers continued to flock to Taranaki; some of these came from Tauranga, and other remote places, and it was noted with alarm that disaffection was spreading.

At the scene of operations, the troops, most of them weary of inglorious campaigning, were kept marching and counter-marching; now shut up in redoubts expecting attacks that never came off, and now sapping and mining their way laboriously to pas only to find them empty and their labour in vain. At length General Pratt sat down before Pukerangiora, Wiremu Kingi's fighting pa, and be-

gan to sap and erect large earthworks. The pa was full of Waikato warriors, all thirsting to revenge the death of Wetini. One dark night a storming party of picked Maoris crawled on their bellies up to the ditch of one of the redoubts, where for a time they lay breathlessly still. A sentry reported to the officer on duty that there was a scratching noise in the ditch. When they listened again all was silent, but the sentry persisting in his story, the officer, his legs held by the sentry, leaned over to make sure, when a Maori bullet crashed through his head. A furious attack was then made on all sides of the redoubt, the Maoris swarming over with the agility of cats, but only to find themselves impaled on the bayonets of the hastily roused soldiers. Finally, when the Maoris found themselves taken in the flanks and rear by parties of soldiers rushing up from the neighbouring redoubts, they fled precipitately. The *utu* they had promised to take for the death of Wetini was still unpaid and the shame of their failure rankled long in their minds.

Our men were still sitting in front of Pukerangiora, when suddenly Wiremu Tamihana appeared and asked General Pratt for leave to visit Wi Kingi and other chiefs shut up in the pa. Leave was granted, though in a manner which the king-maker resented as discourteous, and a truce was allowed for several days, during which he reasoned with the chiefs. The end of their talk was that Kingi and the other chiefs made Tamihana sole arbiter in regard to the Waitara dispute. He immediately asked for a cessation of hostilities and urged General Pratt to withdraw his troops, undertaking on his part to submit the Waitara claim to the decision of the General Assembly and to disperse the Maoris. The

General, however, refused to suspend hostilities until he should receive instructions from the Governor, and Tamihana could not be persuaded to accept our invitation to visit the Governor in Auckland. We were somewhat distrustful of his intentions, and he made no secret of his want of confidence in our suggestion that he should visit the Governor. The siege was resumed and desultory fighting continued until the arrival of Mr. McLean, the Native Secretary, who had an interview with Tamihana. McLean said that if the tribes would disperse the Governor would treat with them separately in regard to the points at issue, viz.: (1) The Waitara land, (2) the murder of settlers, (3) the destruction of property by the Maoris, and (4) the question of the Maori King.

These overtures seemed one-sided, for McLean had not brought the Governor's consent to the withdrawal of the troops. Tamihana was annoyed, but said he would have nothing to do with Waitara, and that he had told the natives to disperse. Then he returned, taking with him most of the Waikato contingent, who, however, were sulky and complained loudly of his interference. His rôle of peacemaker was certainly not an enviable one. He had succeeded in patching up a peace, or rather an extended truce, for no settlement had been arrived at, and both parties distrusted him. He declined to meet the Governor at Mangeve as had been proposed, and quietly waited for further developments.

In the month of May he received a communication from the Native Secretary asking what restitution he intended to make for the damage wrought by the Waikatos in Taranaki. This was shortly afterwards followed by a proclamation from the

Governor enumerating the evil deeds alleged to have been committed by adherents of the Maori King, and making the following specific demands:

(1) From all: submission, without reserve, to the Queen's sovereignty and the authority of the law.

(2) From those who are in possession of plunder: restitution of that plunder.

(3) From those who have destroyed or made away with property: compensation for the losses sustained.

There could be no misunderstanding as to the meaning of the proclamation: it was levelled directly at their king. After bringing the points raised by the Governor before a meeting held at Ngaruawahia, Tamihana wrote a long letter in which he defended with considerable skill the action of the Maoris in setting up a king and combated the accusation that the Maoris had caused the war. On the question of restoration of plunder, he argued that war was made upon Wiremu Kingi, and that the soldiers burnt his pa, destroyed its contents, ate his cattle, and sold a hundred horses belonging to the Maoris. As for the murders complained of, he replied with a *tu quoque,* "It was a murder when Ihaia killed Katatore. He caused him to drink spirits, that his senses might leave him. He was waylaid and killed by Ihaia. That was a foul murder. You looked on and made friends with Ihaia."

"All doubt," said the Governor, on the receipt of this letter, "is now at an end, and it is evident that the Maoris will not submit, that this part of the Colony must be abandoned by all who will not yield obedience to the Maori law, of which the aptest symbol is the tomahawk." This was overshooting the mark somewhat, but it was clear that the ultimatum

had merely stiffened the resistance of the Maoris and their determination to abide by their king and land league. War seemed inevitable and preparations were made on both sides, when the news came that Sir George Grey had been re-appointed Governor and would soon be in the Colony.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WAR IN WAIKATO.

For a second time Sir George Grey was summoned to extricate the Colony from difficulties. On this occasion he came from Cape Colony, where he had won further laurels by his statesmanlike handling of Dutch and native questions. It was hoped on all hands that he would be able to avert the general war which Governor Browne's proclamation had all but induced; but though he and the new Premier, Sir William Fox, the Peace-at-any-price Minister, exhausted all the arts of diplomacy in the direction of peace, it was soon clear that their efforts would be futile. Most of the chiefs whom Sir George Grey had attached to himself during his first administration were now dead; the influence he once possessed no longer existed; and new leaders had arisen and a new public opinion. Government officers and others all agreed in stating that the Waikatos were now thoroughly set on independence and the maintenance of their king, and that they had lost all confidence in the professions or promises of the Government. They had been "humbugged" too often, and the reputation that Governor Grey enjoyed among them for subtlety only intensified their distrust. They pointed also to the 6000 troops still retained in the Colony as conclusive evidence that the Governor's protestations of peace were hollow.

The difficulty of the task before him was not less-

ened by the reopening of the question whether the native administration should reside in the Governor or in the Colonial Parliament. Although the Governor had hitherto received in most cases the support of the Ministry in his management of native affairs, there had always been a considerable party in favour of placing native questions in the hands of the Colonial ministers. The colonists were directly concerned in the proper government of the Maoris, and claimed that they were in a better position than the Imperial authorities for dealing with the subject. At the same time they were not anxious to relieve the Imperial Government of the obligation to police the Maoris, or carry on active war if it should be necessary. They wished to enjoy all the distinction of governing without incurring its risks. The old arrangement had given them very considerable influence, and it had the advantage that it enabled them to escape the odium of any mistakes in policy. The Home Government, as well as many of the colonists, were, however, weary of the dual arrangement which led to constant bickerings and protestations, and appeared to satisfy nobody; yet it seemed necessary that the Colonial Parliament should take its share in the large military expenditure involved in pacifying the Maori. A resolution in favour of giving the control of native affairs to responsible ministers was defeated on July 22, 1862, but only by the casting vote of the Speaker. Sir George Grey had in the meantime written to the Colonial Office suggesting the advisability of the step recommended in the resolution, and the Home Government concurred, with the stipulation, however, that the colonists should contribute to the military expenses. There was some demur to accepting

the responsibility on this condition; but on being informed that it was too late to withdraw, the New Zealand Government, in February, 1863, achieved independence in regard to native administration—the object of much agitation—and, with some misgiving, certainly with less ardour, undertook the heavy task of finding some of the money to "pay the piper."

Meanwhile the Governor left no stone unturned in his efforts to conciliate the disaffected chiefs. He refused to enforce the terms published by his predecessor, hoping thereby to gain time for negotiation and to give the Maori leaders an opportunity of burying the hatchet. Tamati Ngapora, an old chief, friendly to the Government, went to the Waikato and tried to persuade the chiefs that Grey's intentions were peaceful. He had little success. "Who fought Hone Heke and Rangihaeata?" they asked. A few of them visited Auckland and saw the Governor, but they would abate nothing of their resolution to have a king and be independent, and the interview was merely a verbal fencing match. Then Grey set about hatching a scheme for the better government of the Maoris: the weakness of which was that, whilst it provided for making laws, it made no provision for exacting obedience and putting an end to lawlessness—the one thing needful. By this new policy all the territory occupied by the natives was divided into twenty districts, each to be controlled by an English Commissioner. Each district was further divided into six hundreds with two native magistrates, a warden and five policemen, who were to be paid by the Government. The magistrates from the hundreds constituted the district *Runanga*, which had power to make bye-laws about trespass,

drunkenness, etc., these bye-laws to be subject to the approval of the Governor and his Ministers.

The experiment was first tried on the loyal Ngapuhi, who, having assured themselves as to the amount of salary to be distributed, exclaimed with one consent, "Great is the excellence of Governor Grey's scheme." Its inauguration among the Waikatos was, however, another matter. Some of the chiefs who had formerly received pay as assessors, were, indeed, eager to share in the plunder; but the great majority regarded the scheme as another instance of elaborate *maminga* or humbug, intended really to strike a blow at their king. "Ti Oriori said that the usual way of catching owls was for one man to shake some object before the bird to attract attention, while his mate slipped a noose over its head from behind; so Sir George Grey had sent his mate to dazzle them with laws and institutions, while he was watching his chance of entangling them in the meshes of the Queen's sovereignty." Grey himself was present at a great meeting at Taupari, where he made a long speech and answered questions as to his policy. The leaders of the king party were absent—an ominous circumstance, and the speechifying was entrusted to orators, who endeavoured, skilfully but unsuccessfully, to draw from the Governor a distinct statement as to his intentions with regard to their king. He pooh-poohed the king business, warned them of its possible evil consequences, but maintained a discreet silence as to what action he had in view. There was one matter, however, on which he was unpalatably plain-spoken. He made it clear that he intended to prosecute road making. Several years before, the Auckland Provincial Council had begun a road through the Hunua

forest to the Waikato, but the work had been abandoned owing chiefly to the opposition of the natives, and the road, half formed and neglected, became in wet weather an impassable quagmire. Grey now employed large gangs of soldiers in reforming and metalling it, and in extending it to the river; and the determination with which he pushed on the work was convincing proof to the Maoris that he meant war.

Some time afterwards the new institutions were put in force at Taupari and a district *Runanga* assembled to manufacture laws—a congenial task. Some of their resolutions were extremely amusing and furnish good examples of their ideas of legislative functions. "We agree that the Government should give us eight bullocks to plough the land with; that the Governor should give us grass-seed for our farms: but let it be clean seed—do not let there be any noxious weed mixed with it." They further asked for a court-house, a blacksmith, a doctor, who was to be an elderly man who would not misconduct himself with the women or drink rum. This *runanga,* held in a friendly district, was sufficient indication of what success might be expected among tribes more opposed to European intervention. The new policy was, indeed, a failure; it made no headway at all among the King natives; and in any case it had the fatal defect that it entrusted law-making and government to men who, even when they were friendly, were like roystering schoolboys who had never learned to obey.

All attempts to negotiate "face to face" with the Waikato leaders were abortive. Fox had received the Governor's permission to interview Tamihana and others, and to propose to them the settlement of

the Waitara dispute by a tribunal consisting of two Europeans and four Maoris; for Fox had always held that we were in the wrong about Teira's land, and thought that concession on that point would restore the confidence of the Maoris in our desire to deal justly by them. He saw many important chiefs, but not Tamihana, who appears to have avoided an interview; and the general opinion was that, as Waitara had been placed in the hands of Tamihana, nothing could be done without his decision. The King-maker, however, in a letter to Fox, stated that he "would not agree to Waitara being investigated." His disingenuous procedure convinced the Prime Minister that he was not really desirous of re-establishing friendly relations with the Government, and that he was playing us false.

In January, 1863, Grey went to Ngaruawahia, and had an interview with Tamihana, but nothing came of it. Tamihana stoutly declared his determination to support the king movement and to "resist the introduction of steamers on the Waikato river," but expressed himself as not opposed to the resumption by the Government of the Tataraimaka land, to which our title was unquestioned and from which the Taranaki settlers had been ousted during the recent disturbances, and which armed bodies of natives still held. Foiled in his endeavour to come to a settlement with Tamihana, Grey, in April, went to Taranaki. He had made up his mind to abandon the Waitara claim, but he very unwisely postponed the announcement of his intention until he had sent soldiers to re-occupy the land at Tataraimaka. When this move was reported in Waikato, the war chiefs of the King party immediately sent a message to the Taranaki natives to begin their shoot-

ing; which they promptly did, attacking and killing a party of Queen's troops who were convoying some carts between Taranaki and Tataraimaka. Grey, when it was too late, then announced that the purchase of Teira's land would not be completed, a concession which seemed to the Maoris a sure indication of fear and weakness.

Concurrently, events were happening in Waikato which showed the warlike intentions of the King natives. Mr. Gorst had been placed at Awamatu, in the heart of the Waikato, as a magistrate, but not being allowed to act in that capacity, he had established a school and set up a printing press, from which he issued the *Pihoihoi* (the Ground Lark), a newspaper intended to combat the Maori organ, which was styled the *Hokioi* (the Phœnix). Apparently the *Pihoihoi* got the better of the wordy warfare, and the Maoris determined to put an end to its carolling. A party of them carried off press, type, and other material; and some time later expelled Mr. Gorst from the district. About the same time, a more serious incident had taken place. Sir George Grey had ordered the construction of a court-house and police barracks on the lower Waikato; but when the timbers were all ready, a party of King natives, in spite of the opposition of the friendlies, threw the whole of the material into the river.

Evidence was soon forthcoming that the rebels were preparing for a hostile movement. Letters and circulars were intercepted which disclosed a plan for the "wholesale destruction of the European settlements." Auckland was to be attacked and made desolate, and the tribes in the neighbourhood of other settlements were conjured to "sweep out their yards" and "drive the Europeans into the sea."

Tamihana, King-maker and for a long time Peace-maker, consented to this plan of campaign. "I shall spare neither unarmed people nor property. If they prove the strongest, well and good. If the Maoris prove the strongest, this is how it will be: the unarmed will not be left." No doubt he was to some extent driven to this declaration by the fervour of the war party, which had all along ridiculed his peace policy; but many disappointments had also envenomed him against the Government, and he was now content to let loose the dogs of war. Grey, too, after months of fruitless negotiation and scheming, saw no alternative but war, and made his preparations accordingly.

General Cameron, who was now in command in Taranaki, where he had been successful in an engagement at Kaitikara, was hastily recalled to Auckland with all his troops, except a small garrison left to guard New Plymouth. With as little delay as possible a large force was sent to the front, and on July 12th General Cameron crossed the Maungatawhiri creek, an affluent of the Waikato, and established his advance guard in a redoubt on the Koheroa hills. The day before, a *taua,* marching in two separate columns, had left Ngaruawahia, with the intention of attacking Auckland. One of these columns actually got to the rear of Cameron's forces, and scored a success in an encounter with an escort party. The other column was intercepted by the force stationed at Koheroa, and after a smart engagement put to flight and dispersed. This defeat convinced the Maoris of the impracticability of an attack upon Auckland.

It was then reported that a large body of natives were engaged in digging trenches and fortifying

themselves at Meri-Meri, on the right bank of the Waikato, and only a few miles distant from our front. A rapid movement would have caught them unprepared, and although they were supposed to have 1000 fighting men, the forces under Cameron, properly handled, would have had little difficulty in inflicting a blow which might have terminated the war. The General, however, who was cautious and methodical to the last degree, had no intention of surprising the enemy or his colonial critics by anything so reckless as a march of three miles on short rations. He frittered away weeks and months in waiting for supplies, which, instead of being sent up the river, which offered every facility for their transport, were dragged laboriously along the military road, where, at various points, the escorts were liable to be pounced upon by native marauders. Cameron was a firm believer in the maxim that "armies march on their bellies," and would not move until the last cask of bread and barrel of beef had reached their destination.

The physical difficulties offered to an army manœuvring in the Waikato district were trifling compared with those that had to be encountered in some parts of Taranaki. From the point at which the Auckland road met the river, up to the junction of the Waikato and Waipa, an invading army had few obstacles except an occasional creek or swamp, in the flax or raupo of which an ambuscade might easily be arranged; and the triangle formed by the Waipa and the Waikato is a great plain, containing few elevations and practically treeless.

It was not till the end of October that the General had completed his arrangements for an advance. By that time two steamers had been placed on the river,

in one of which he reconnoitred the position at Meri-Meri, the front of which extended along the river and was trenched and rifle-pitted in all directions. It was decided to attack on the flanks, and 612 men were despatched in the steamers to a point some miles above Meri-Meri, whilst General Cameron himself, with another force, threatened the enemy's right flank. These manœuvres alarmed the natives, and before a shot was fired they abandoned their entrenchments, and escaped in canoes up the Maramarua and Wangamarino crecks, which at this time were flooded and easily navigable. It was a barren victory, for the Maoris to a man had eluded our grasp, and concentrated for another stand at Rangiriri, about twelve miles higher up the river. The position they had taken up there was a strong one, but it lacked—an unusual thing in a Maori stronghold—a back door by means of which they could give us the slip when hard-pressed. They had thrown up entrenchments right across the narrow isthmus which separated the Waikarei lake from the Waikato, and had also rifle-pitted the ground for some distance along the river bank. To the entrenchments across the isthmus they had added a formidable square redoubt, the parapet of which was said to have been twenty-one feet high. Whilst General Cameron advanced against Rangiriri by land with 771 men and a couple of Armstrong guns, an additional force of 500 soldiers and marines was convoyed up the river by four gunboats, and landed at a position which would enable it to take the enemy in the rear and prevent his escape. Owing to some delay in getting up the river, the land force was the first to reach its position in front of the entrenchments. After pouring in a heavy fire from the Armstrong guns, storm-

ing parties were hurled against the redoubt; but four separate assaults were repelled by the fire of the Maori *tuparas,* which at short range were more deadly than the Enfield rifle. It was a useless waste of life, for surrounded on all sides, and with only a scanty supply of food, the Maoris could have no choice but surrender or submit to an attack in the open, at which they were sure to be worsted. After the failure of the last assault, General Cameron desisted and the troops bivouacked for the night. At the rear, in the meantime, the force landed from the steamers had observed that some of the natives were escaping by the lake and the swamp; a heavy fire was directed upon the fugitives, and no further attempt was made to escape in that direction. At daylight the next morning a white flag was hoisted, and 183 warriors surrendered unconditionally. Our loss of 35 men killed and 85 wounded was wholly unnecessary. With a little patience not a man need have been sacrificed.

On the 8th of December, Ngaruawahia, the Maori capital, was occupied without opposition; but the old difficulty of getting supplies to the front delayed a further advance for nearly two months. In the meantime the rebels had fortified themselves at Paterangi and Pikopiko, positions about forty miles up the Waipa River. When the commissariat arrangements were completed (January, 1864) General Cameron advanced slowly by way of the Waipa, which snags and sandbanks rendered difficult of navigation. Judging that Pikopiko and Paterangi were too strong to be carried by assault, he slipped past them, and with 1000 men made a rapid night march upon Awamatu, from which the natives, taken entirely by surprise, were easily expelled. This suc-

cess and the capture of Rangioawhia caused the evacuation of Paterangi, the defenders of which, having afterwards begun to entrench themselves in a new position, were surprised and routed with severe loss.

Having heard that Tamihana had collected a large force of rebels at Maungatautari on the Horutiu branch of the Waikato, General Cameron determined to march against him, and for that purpose sent supplies by river to Pukerimu; but before he could carry out this intention Brigadier-General Carey, left in command of the troops at Awamatu, had brought on a combat which furnished the most picturesque incident of the war. A report having been received that Rewi Maniopoto, the most irreconcilable of the Maori leaders, and some 300 followers, had established themselves in a strong position at Orakau, Carey marched off by night with 1000 men, and before dawn completely invested the pa. After making two fruitless assaults, he wisely confined his operations to the safer methods of sapping. General Cameron, with reinforcements, soon arrived on the scene, and hearing that there were a number of women and children in the pa, he sent an interpreter to invite Rewi to surrender. The reply was a memorable one: "This is the word of the Maori: we will fight on for ever, and ever, and ever." And when he was urged to send out the women and children, he replied, "The women will fight as well as we." These were brave words for men who had no water and no food except a few raw potatoes and who were surrounded by nearly seven times their own number. Their case seemed absolutely hopeless; but the unexpected, one might almost say the impossible, happened. Late in the afternoon of the

third day of the siege, the garrison evacuated the pa marching "in a solid column, the women, the children and the great chiefs in the centre," and as "cool and steady as if they had been going to church." The side from which they issued was guarded by the 40th regiment, which had been disposed in lines under the shelter of a bank. Not a man of them appears to have known of the escape, until the fugitives, breaking into a run, leapt, it is said, right over the recumbent soldiers, and, dashing through a second line, reached cover in a swamp and some ti-tree scrub. Unfortunately for them, a small cavalry force riding rapidly round, charged into them as they came out at the other side, and cut them to pieces. Only about 100, Rewi among them, managed to make good their escape. The Orakau defeat was practically the end of the Waikato campaign, for Maungatautari, against which the General now marched, was evacuated at his approach, the fighting men retiring to the forests and hills to the south, whither it was considered useless to follow them. Attention was therefore turned to Tauranga where Tamihana and his people had large possessions. The Maoris in that district had supplied the Waikatos with food and many of them had taken part in the recent fighting. The occupation of the district was, therefore, considered to be of great importance, and in January the Governor had despatched thither a force of 500 men under Lieutenant-Colonel Carey who, on his promotion to Brigadier-General, was replaced by Lieutenant-Colonel Greer. This force was stationed at Te Papa, but beyond giving occasional aid to the friendly Arawas who were successful in checking the threatened advance of hostile Eastern tribes to Waikato,

it remained more or less inactive until the end of April. It was then discovered that a large body of rebels, most of them men who had returned from Waikato, were forming an entrenchment, afterwards known as the Gate Pa, on a hillock skirted on either side by swamps. On hearing of this, General Cameron himself moved down to Tauranga with strong reinforcements, and surrounded the Maoris, who did not number more than 300, with an overwhelming display of troops and big guns. It was a case of six to one, to say nothing of Armstrong guns (one being a 110 pounder), howitzers, mortars and cohorns; yet the Maoris not only eluded us in the end but managed to inflict upon us defeat and disgrace. After a cannonade which, as a spectator observed, might "have smothered Sebastopol," a naval brigade of 150 men and a like number of the 43rd regiment, were told off to carry the redoubt. They had no sooner entered the breach, than they were seized with panic and, rushing out again, crying "There's thousands of them!" broke into a shameless flight, in which numbers of them were mowed down by the concentrated fire of the Maoris. Our loss was 93 killed and wounded. During the night the enemy escaped through our investing lines, apparently without much difficulty.

The 43rd soon had an opportunity of wiping out this disgrace in an attack upon the Te Ranga pa, which they stormed at the point of the bayonet in the most gallant manner. In this engagement, in which a small force of cavalry was employed with signal effect, the Maoris suffered severely, no less than 109 of them being found dead on the field.

CHAPTER XX.

THE HAU-HAUS.

With the fall of Te Ranga (June 21st, 1864), there was a lull; but although Tamihana threw up the game and made his peace, fighting was soon to break out again in a new and more serious form. It continued, with now and then a breathing-space, to the year 1870. This recrudescence was chiefly due to the appearance of the singular Hau-Hau superstition, which appealed to the most ferocious instincts of the Maori race, and gave a more savage character to the wars that followed.

How it originated is still far from clear. It would seem to have been the desperate device of men who needed a stronger bond of union and a greater stimulus than were to be found in a political organisation like the King movement. We knew nothing of it, however, until the early part of 1864. In April of that year Captain Lloyd with a hundred men having gone out of Kaitaki pa (about 10 miles south of New Plymouth), with the intention of scouring the neighbouring hills and laying waste any Maori cultivation he might meet with, was suddenly set upon by a large body of rebels. The soldiers were utterly routed, and Captain Lloyd and seven others were killed. The victors chopped off the heads of the slain and drank their blood.

A few days later, Maori "historians" relate, the angel Gabriel appeared to those who drank the blood

of the victims, and commanded that Captain Lloyd's head should be cured after the native manner, and then carried throughout the country, for henceforth it would be the medium by which Jehovah would reveal himself to the Maoris. Surely no white man's head has ever been put to such singular use! As soon as it was dug up from the place in which they had first buried it, the oraculous Head appointed Te Ua—a weak blend of Mahomet and Joe Smith—to be its high priest, and Hepaniah and Rangitauira to be assistants, and revealed to them the nature of the new religion, which was to take the place of the false religion taught by the white man's Scriptures. Henceforth, it said, they need have no fear, for Gabriel, with his celestial legions, would overwhelm their foes, provided, however, that they held fast to the faith. Its tenets were remarkably simple. That the race might grow and multiply, marriage was to be set aside, and men and women were to live together as seemed good in their own eyes. The priests of the Head were endowed with superhuman powers: they could ensure victory by barking like dogs—Hau-Hau, and could make their followers impervious to the bullets of the Pakehas. The Europeans would be exterminated or expelled from the land, and then angels would descend from heaven to teach the Maoris all the arts and sciences. This programme was easily intelligible and was very seductive.

In a few weeks one article of their faith was to be put to a crucial test—that which assured them that the true believer was bullet-proof. Some miles north of New Plymouth a small garrison under Captain Shortt held a redoubt called Sentry Hill. One moonlight night the sentries saw a single Maori

coming across the flat, waving his arms about in a remarkable fashion, and singing what they took to be some Maori song. When he reached the parapet, some of the men wished to fire at him; but the officers told them to go out and take him. As a sergeant was about to execute this order, the Maori jumped up and flung a stone at him, and then running away some distance, sat down and resumed his singing, only decamping when the soldiers had fired a couple of volleys at him. A few days after this incident, the people in the redoubt heard the Maoris in the Manutahi pa singing war songs, and soon a party of 300 of them were observed to be marching in solid column, four abreast, in the direction of Sentry Hill. They kept up an incessant barking and yelling which astonished the soldiers lying behind the parapet and waiting quietly for the signal to fire. A hundred and fifty yards from the redoubt, the Maoris came to a halt, and then the garrison, standing up, poured rifle-fire and grape-shot into the mass. At first they stood without flinching, apparently expecting the bullets to be turned aside or Gabriel's legions to come to their rescue, but when numbers of them began to fall before the rain of lead, they took to their heels. Thirty-four killed and wounded remained behind, and among the dead was the prophet Hepaniah, who was probably the adventurer who had visited the redoubt a few nights previously.

Fanaticism, however, dies hard. Hepaniah's death was attributed to some misdeed on his part, and Matene, installed prophet in his place, started off to Waitotara, bearing the oraculous Head, on a proselytising tour. His mission was successful; many warriors recently returned from Waikato were converted, and, filled with ferocious piety, prepared

to make a descent upon Wanganui, access to which was easily obtainable by means of the river. When tidings of this intention reached the settlement, the alarm was great, for the garrison was small and Hau-Hau had already become a name that inspired terror in the hearts of the settlers. But the Wanganui natives came opportunely to the rescue. Three hundred of them, paddling in their canoes seventy miles up the river, met Matene and his followers and warned them to desist. The prophet said he would wait two months, but our allies, weary of the suspense, at length challenged the fanatics to battle on the island of Moutua. The Hau-Haus consented, and also agreed to the condition that neither party should endeavour to take the other by surprise. Moutua is about 300 yards long and 20 wide; there was little room for manœuvring, and little cover, except such as was provided by fern and ti-tree scrub. One morning by seven o'clock the combatants were arranged in lines facing each other, the Friendlies calmly waiting and the Hau-Haus indulging in wild and grotesque incantations which lasted for two hours. Gradually the space between them was lessened to thirty feet, at which deadly range the shooting began. Men fell fast on both sides and the Wanganui people, dismayed by the loss of three chiefs, gave ground and finally fled. The fanatics were triumphant. The battle, indeed, seemed lost, when a chief, by name Haimona Hiroti, shouted, "I will go no further," and gathering a score of the doughtier warriors about him, faced round upon the pursuers with the courage of despair. Firing a volley at close quarters, the dauntless few then joined in a hand-to-hand struggle with the Hau-Haus, who, with several of their chiefs down, sud-

denly lost heart and fled in their turn, pursued by the Friendlies, many of whom had now rallied. Plunging into the river, the Hau-Haus sought to escape by swimming, but most of them were shot down before reaching the bank. The prophet Matene, though wounded, gained the bank, but he was immediately tomahawked by a native policeman, who had followed close upon his heels. The rout was complete: even the few who escaped death were grievously wounded.

When the victors returned, bearing their dead with them, all the settlers turned out into the street and stood with bared heads, and the soldiers joined in the procession. Moutua, though a small affair, so far as the numbers engaged were concerned, will ever rank among the most heroic battles fought upon New Zealand soil.

Notwithstanding their defeats at Sentry Hill and Moutua, the Hau-Haus were not to be arrested in their wild career. The superstition gained ground rapidly until it embraced most of the followers of the king; nor did it lose with the lapse of time any of its repulsive cruelty. "A large infusion of Judaism, some leading features of Mormonism, a little mesmerism, a touch of spiritualism, occasional ventriloquism, and a large amount of cannibalism, are the characteristic features which it exhibits. Its rites are bloody, sensual, foul and devilish; the least reprehensible and most orderly consisting in running round a pole stuck in the ground, howling and uttering gibberish, till catalepsy prostrates the worshippers, who sometimes lie senseless on the ground for hours. Their bitterest hatred, and most refined cruelties, are reserved for the missionaries, who are accused of robbing them of their lands, by

tribes which never sold, gave away or were deprived of an acre." *

Their determination to prolong the struggle was no doubt strengthened by the "policy of confiscation" now adopted by the Government. The principal features of this policy, as agreed upon by the Colonial Ministry and the Governor, were: (1) Confiscation of large tracts of native lands; (2) Settlement of military pensioners and large numbers of ordinary immigrants upon portion of the confiscated territory; (3) Restoration of 500,000 acres to the rebels who were to be given Crown grants as individuals; and (4) Sale of the remainder to defray the expenses of the war (at that time stated to be £3,000,000) and to pay for the construction of roads.

This scheme, approved by the Governor, and to a large extent based upon that which he had adopted in British Kaffraria, was rejected by Mr. Cardwell, who had replaced the Duke of Newcastle as Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Parliamentary opposition to it was increased by the zeal of the Aborigines Protection Society, a body of philanthropists who, in their eagerness to protect black men, frequently forgot to be charitable to men of their own colour and race. Sir George Grey was thus compelled to temporise, and the Fox Ministry resigned in disgust. Their chagrin was not diminished when a few months later the Governor, on the advice of the Weld Ministry, proceeded with the policy of confiscation on almost the same lines as Fox had indicated. As usual, the discussion and the philanthropical letters published in the newspapers were not unknown to the Maoris, who, believ-

* Sir W. Fox, *The War in New Zealand.*

ing that the Queen, and generally the "good people in England," were on their side, quietly grew their crops and prepared to resume the struggle with all the added zest which a malignant superstition imparts to half-savage natures.

Although during the Waikato campaign there had been little fighting in Taranaki, the natives of that district were still turbulent. Gangs of marauders swept the country and occasionally came to blows with military outposts. For years past the road between Taranaki and Wanganui had been closed to white men, and the colonists were practically confined to the townships. To end this reign of terror and to open the road between the two settlements, General Cameron was sent to Wanganui with a force of 6000 soldiers and volunteers. To oppose this army, the natives had seven or eight hundred men capable of bearing arms; indeed, as Mr. Fox puts it, "if our troops had adopted the Hau-Hau religion and eaten *all* their enemies, there would not have been a leg or an arm for each of them." The distance between Wanganui and Taranaki was 128 miles, and of this distance Colonel Warre, commanding in Taranaki, had undertaken to clear 90 miles, leaving the remainder to General Cameron, whose timid tactics on this occasion induced the Maoris to dub him the "Lame Seagull."

On reaching Wanganui his first business was to punish some rebels who had attacked and murdered a party of roadmakers near the Waitotara river. With over 900 men he marched to the Waitotara, where a body of natives, variously estimated at 400 and 600, made a daring attack upon his camp at Nukumaru and were only repelled with a loss, on our side, of 30 killed and wounded. Satisfied with

this inglorious victory, the General proceeded with infinite slowness to execute his intended march towards Taranaki. Although the road lay mostly along the sea-beach and was most of it suitable for carts; and although only a handful of natives was met, most of them having deserted their villages for the bush, whither General Cameron was not disposed to follow them; yet it took eight weeks to traverse a distance of fifty miles. Having accomplished so much, the army went into "winter quarters"—a curious libel on the climate of the North Island—and the General returned to Auckland.

In the midst of these "vigorous" operations a remarkable correspondence had been carried on between the General and the Governor. Towards the end of January the General strongly urged the Governor to apply for a reinforcement of 2000 men, and when the Governor replied that, in his opinion, reinforcements were quite unnecessary, the General solemnly declared that the occupation of the country between Patea and Taranaki instead of taking two years would require twenty. He followed this up by stating that the purchase of Waitotara was, like the purchase of the Waitara block, an "iniquitous job," for which sweeping statement he declined to give any authority. There were many, however, who shared his opinion that the war was an inglorious affair and might have been avoided; a circumstance which partly explains the half-heartedness that characterised many of the operations of the regular troops.

Another subject of dispute gave the Governor an opportunity of showing his skill as a soldier. When General Cameron began his march along the coast, he left in his rear the Wereroa pa, a strongly forti-

fied position, occupied by 300 Maoris, who threatened his communications and were also a source of anxiety to the people of Wanganui. When the Governor pointed out the necessity of destroying Wereroa, the General replied that he considered his force insufficient to attack so formidable a work. Two thousand men would be required, and he could not spare that number. Grey then informed him that 500 friendly natives were anxious to make the attempt and that he would allow them to do so, provided it did not interfere with the General's operations. The latter was hugely amused at this instance of what he called native *bounce*. The Governor, however, weary of delay, decided to take the matter in his own hands. He got together a force consisting of 309 friendly natives, 139 Colonial Rangers, and 25 Wanganui Cavalry, and obtained a grudging permission from the military authorities to use 200 of the troops as "moral support." The "moral supports" were placed like dummies in front of the pa, but took no part in the subsequent fighting; whilst the native and Colonial contingent undertook a difficult march through the bush with the object of capturing a redoubt which commanded the pa from the rear. In this they were entirely successful, dispersing a body of rebels coming to the assistance of the pa, and capturing the redoubt without the loss of a man. Seeing that their position was no longer tenable, the occupants of the pa fled with precipitation, and might have been severely handled in their retreat, had the "moral supports" been allowed to use their guns. This brilliant bit of strategy occupied but two days and added fresh lustre to the Governor's reputation. The Home Government, however, ignored his part in the affair by bestowing

a C.B. on the officer commanding the troops who had not fired a shot!

In the meantime grave questions were occupying the attention of the Colonial Parliament. These questions were: (1) the withdrawal of Imperial troops, (2) changing the seat of government from Auckland to Wellington, and (3) the state of the finances of the Colony. Sir Frederick Weld who became Prime Minister in November, 1864, was a strong advocate of the Self-Reliance Policy, which meant the withdrawal of the British forces in the Colony. There were serious objections to this policy. The war was still far from being at an end, and for the Colony to raise a force sufficient to cope with the rebellion seemed a huge undertaking. On the other hand the Imperial troops were a great drain upon the Colonial Treasury, and their usefulness did not seem to be in proportion either to their numbers or to the expenditure they involved. After some debate both Houses agreed to take the plunge, to withdraw the British regiments as soon as it could be done conveniently and to carry on the war with militia and native auxiliaries. The Home Government approved of this step and gave instructions for the removal of the troops. Instead, however, of consulting the Governor in the matter, it gave to General Cameron almost entire discretion: a proceeding which drew a vigorous remonstrance from the Governor and added much to the bitterness of the controversy raging between him and the General. In the end the Colonial Secretary withdrew his former instructions and bestowed upon Grey an authority which rightly belonged to him in virtue of his commission as Governor and Commander-in-chief.

In consequence of the decision to do without the

Imperial troops, the long and arduous guerilla warfare that followed the rise of Hau-Hauism devolved chiefly upon Colonial militia and their native allies. For bush fighting they were much superior to the regular soldiers whose training incapacitated them from rapid marching through densely wooded country, where at every turn a native ambush might disclose itself. The first militia levies were experienced bushmen, who, without troubling themselves much about commissariat arrangements, tracked the rebels to their forest lairs with an energy and craft which confounded them.

For years the Southern members had inveighed against the inconvenience of having the seat of Government at Auckland, but Auckland provincialists were, naturally enough, bitterly opposed to such a change. The argument they most relied upon was that it would be dangerous, in the midst of native disturbances, to take a step which might further weaken the loyalty of the native inhabitants of the province of Auckland. In 1863, however, an Act was passed appointing a Commission to report upon the subject; and the Commissioners, selected from the Australian Colonies, recommended Wellington as the capital. When it became known that Sir Frederick Weld had decided to adopt this recommendation, the exasperation of the Aucklanders knew no bounds. They went so far as to move in Parliament that Auckland should for a time be erected into a Crown Colony. The motion, however, was defeated, and on October 3, 1864, Wellington was made the capital of the Colony, and the session of 1865 was held there.

The financial troubles were chiefly connected with the war expenditure. The Imperial Government

had made large advances for commissariat and capitation money for the troops, and was now pressing for the settlement of these claims. Moreover, provision had to be made to replace the Imperial troops by local forces. In these circumstances there was no alternative but to increase taxation and limit the expenditure of the Provincial Councils, who, whatever the necessities of the case might be, were always inclined to resent the interference of the Central Government.

The withdrawal of the regular troops was made slowly. General Cameron, however, resigned in January, 1866, and was succeeded by General Chute. who, if less experienced in European warfare, had more dash and energy, qualities that were essential in dealing with the Maori rebels. Setting out from the captured Wereroa pa, he marched through the bush to New Plymouth, capturing Otapawa and other strongholds on the way. Instead of following the usual route on the sea side of Mount Egmont, he worked inland through a little known and extremely difficult country, where flooded streams, dense forests, and soaking rains combined to impede his progress. This march and the energetic way of seeking out the rebels brought a temporary peace to Taranaki, the scene for years of bloody feuds and combats.

The Hau-Hau superstition still flourished, acts of brutal ferocity marking every stage in its progress. In March, 1865, a Lutheran missionary named Volckner, who had laboured for years among the natives at Opotiki, in the Bay of Plenty, and had made many converts, was seized and hung by a party of fanatics. When the body was cut down, a brute named Kereopa tore out the eyes and swallowed

them; after which men, and even women, scrambled for the blood of the victim, some drinking it with savage glee and others smearing their faces with it. A colonial contingent under Captain Massey and a body of friendly natives led by the energetic Major McDonnell were immediately despatched to Opotiki to avenge this atrocity, and succeeded in inflicting severe punishment on the rebels. The militia conducted themselves with great gallantry and their leaders showed considerable skill in bush warfare. The rebellion, quenched at Opotiki, then spread down the East coast and only died down again after months of guerilla fighting, in which our native allies and especially the Ngatiporou under the fierce old warrior Ropata Wahawaha played a very important part. A multitude of skirmishes were fought, with varying fortune. The most decisive engagement was the capture of Omaranui (October, 1866) pa by Colonel Whitmore, all the natives there being captured or killed.

Again there was a lull, lasting from October, 1866 to June, 1868. The year 1867 is chiefly memorable for the recall of Sir George Grey. The Home Government afterwards apologised somewhat for this "premature recall," but it was evident that Grey was sacrificed to appease narrow-minded officials to whom Governors with strong characteristics have never been pleasing. The Colonists had modified their opinion of Grey, and expressed freely their high appreciation of his services to the Colony. "Again and again," wrote the Executive Council, "during the last twenty-six years, when there has been danger and difficulty in the administration of Colonial affairs, your Excellency's aid has been invoked by the most eminent statesmen of the day.

Sacrifices you have disregarded, and trials have seemed as opportunities of evincing devotion to public duty, and we cannot but regard it as indicative of the indifference, if not positive disfavour, with which the colonies of the Empire are regarded when loyalty, zeal, and high intelligence displayed in the administration of their affairs, are passed by without even the courtesy of a cold acknowledgment." Happily the days of blundering indifference are departed, and instead of being regarded with disfavour Colonies are now esteemed the mainstay of the Empire. Grey's successor was Sir George Bowen, who arrived in February, 1868.

In June, 1868, the war re-opened, Taranaki being the first scene of disturbance. Hau-Hau marauders began to "lift" cattle and horses, and to shoot unprotected settlers. Their ringleader was a chief named Titokowaru, whose stronghold was Ngutu-o-te-manu (*Beak of the Bird*). Colonel McDonnell captured the place in August, but in September his raw levies were repulsed in an attack upon Ruarua with a loss of 50 killed and wounded. McDonnell then gave up his command to Colonel Whitmore, who had been distinguishing himself on the East coast. The Taranaki forces were at this time thoroughly demoralised: most of them were undisciplined recruits, and some of them had to be disbanded for mutiny. Whitmore had thus to mark time until by recruiting and drilling he could muster up a force of capable fighting men. At length he took the field, attacking six or seven hundred Maoris entrenched at Moturoa, a pa surrounded by dense bush. He was, however, no more successful than McDonnell had been. After an obstinate fight, in which twenty-one of our men were killed, he was

compelled to retreat, and before he could strike another blow he was hastily summoned to the East coast to deal with the perpetrators of the Poverty Bay Massacre.

After the last campaign in that district, the Government had sent a large number of Maori prisoners to the Chatham Islands, from which, it was supposed, it would be impossible for them to escape. The guard, however, consisted of only twenty-five men, and these were afterwards reduced to fifteen. Among the prisoners was a man named Te Kooti, who, although he had never borne arms against us, was regarded as a Hau-Hau accomplice. Partly through his real cleverness, and partly through his pretensions to having received revelations from Heaven, he obtained complete ascendancy over his fellow captives and soon matured a daring plan of escape. On the 3rd of July the schooner *Rifleman* arrived with stores, and on the following day the prisoners overpowered the guard, and seized the vessel. The Captain was put ashore, but the mate and the crew were given their choice between death and navigating the ship to the coast of New Zealand. Needless to say, they chose the latter. During the voyage a Maori, with drawn cutlass, stood by the man at the wheel; and when head winds retarded their progress, Te Kooti ordered his uncle to be thrown overboard to appease the god of storms. A sacrifice which had the desired effect; for the wind immediately began to blow from another quarter. On the 10th they arrived at Whareongaonga, about fifteen miles from Poverty Bay. On landing, they supplied the sailors with some casks of water, and then told them to go about their business. Thereupon the escapees, 164 men and 135 women and children, struck out

for the interior, pursued by Major Biggs, with a hastily collected force of Europeans and friendly natives. The fugitives, however, turning to bay, repulsed Major Biggs and made good their escape. Other attempts made to catch them were equally unsuccessful. After an interval spent in sending emissaries to disaffected tribes and inciting his followers by fanatical addresses to take vengeance upon the *Pakehas,* Te Kooti suddenly swooped down (Nov. 9, 1868) upon the Poverty Bay settlement and massacred thirty-three white people and thirty-seven natives. Some of the Europeans owed their escape to a staunch old chief named Tutari, who refused to point out the route the fugitive settlers had taken. He and his two children were immediately tomahawked. His wife, equally loyal but more prudent than her husband, saved the settlers and her own life by pointing out the *wrong* road. It was a night of horrors. Surrounding Captain Wilson's house, the savages called upon him to open the door, and when he refused, burst it open with a log of wood. Afraid to enter, they then set fire to the house, and the Captain, with his wife and children, their hair and feet singed by the fire, was obliged to leave it. He had gone but a few hundred yards when he was bayoneted, and fell with his little son in his arms. The latter stole away in the dark and hid in some scrub. Some days afterwards he returned to his old home and found his "father and brothers, and sisters all dead," and his mother lying mortally wounded in an outhouse.

Te Kooti, after repulsing a levy of friendly natives and being in turn defeated by Ropata, fortified himself at Ngatapa, an almost inaccessible pa, perched on the top of a wooded hill and protected by

three lines of earthworks and by the usual rifle-pits. Ropata's men looked at this fastness, and turned away, much to the indignation of the old chief who gloried in dangers and difficulties. At length Colonel Whitmore arrived, and combining Ropata's forces with his own, invested the pa, and seized the first line of entrenchments. As usual the rebels were badly supplied with water and food; the pa had, therefore, become a death-trap and their only chance was to escape from it as best they could. This they contrived to do by lowering themselves by ropes over a cliff which had been left unguarded; but the fugitives were pounced upon by Ropata, who slaughtered or captured them by scores. In this engagement, the last of any consequence in New Zealand, 136 rebels were slain. The captured were summarily shot, and their bodies flung over a cliff. Te Kooti took refuge in the Urewera country and was able to commit several other atrocities before he was driven into the interior. Thenceforth he was a fugitive, never caught, but harried from one place to another by Ropata, Kemp, and McDonnell, until the spirit went out of him. Finally he threw himself upon the protection of the Maori king, who sheltered him on condition of good behaviour, and the Government wisely let him alone. The same policy was pursued in regard to Titokowaru who, chased by Whitmore from the Wanganui district, fled to the interior, a solitary and harmless wanderer.

Thus ended the ten years' war and the Maori dream of independence. They had boldly thrown down the gauntlet to the *Pakehas,* and although our vastly superior forces were bound to tell in the long run, they beat our troops time after time and vindicated their character as brave men and resourceful

fighters. The second phase of the war showed them in a less amiable light. They felt that the cause for which they had taken up arms was lost; and despair and a debasing superstition combined to egg them on to deeds of almost fiendish cruelty. The Hau-Haus were, indeed, devils incarnate, and whilst their flaming star was in the ascendant, the hearts of the colonists were bitter against the Maoris: yet partly because we had seen loyal natives fighting side by side with us, worthy comrades in arms, and partly because both soldiers and settlers had begun to appreciate the many excellent qualities of the Maoris, the savagery that marked the last stage of the struggle was soon forgotten, and the two races have since lived together in almost perfect harmony. The confiscation policy, which led us to take over millions of acres from the insurgents, was not pressed with vengeful severity; a great deal of the land thus confiscated was given back and every effort was made to conciliate and aid them to regain their self-respect. To Sir Donald McLean, who was native minister from 1869 to 1876, the Colony is chiefly indebted for the success of these efforts.

CHAPTER XXI.

PROGRESS UNDER PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.
(1860–1870.)

The war greatly retarded the progress of the North Island; settlers suffered grievously, and the general alarm and insecurity prevented the influx of immigrants. Even after the confiscation policy had rendered large blocks of land available, there was little eagerness to purchase; for to settle in outlying districts was to court spoliation and death at the hands of the Hau-Haus. Still, there were many who took all the risks; and some of the old pioneers, owing to their knowledge of the Maori character, contrived to escape the heavy hand of the blackmailer. Private enterprise did much. It was the sheep-farmer, for example, who, without help from Company or Government, laid the foundations of the Province of Hawke's Bay. It is a great pity that materials for a history of individual effort in the Colonies are so hard to come by; for few of the men who cleared the bush, snagged the rivers, and made roads by the labour of their own hands, have published, or, indeed, left any record of their doings. Nevertheless, the story of farmers, squatters, sheep and cattle drovers, and gold-diggers is more interesting and just as important as the history of public affairs, which, at best, gives but a narrow and distorted view of the struggles and achievements of the people themselves.

The war was not an unmixed evil to the people of the North Island. It gave a new dignity and self-reliance to the colonists, and made them acquainted with every portion of the island, so that when peace came, they were in a better position for exploiting its riches.

Taking the Colony as a whole, progress had been very rapid. The population had increased from 79,711 in 1860, to 248,400 in 1870; the total exports had risen from £549,133 to £4,544,682; and the imports from £1,548,333 to £4,639,015. Of the exports, gold and wool came easily first in importance; but agriculture, kauri-gum digging, and the flax industry were also making progress. By 1870 there were in New Zealand nearly nine million sheep, between three and four hundred thousand head of horned cattle, and seventy thousand horses. Over a million acres of land were in cultivation. One result of this development had been the establishment of new provinces—Hawke's Bay, Marlborough, Westland, and Southland. The difficulty of communication between the various centres of population contributed to the same end. The first railway—that between Christchurch and Ferrymead Junction—was made in 1863, but trunk lines were still in the "womb of the future." Steamers had made their appearance earlier, but the coastal service was far from perfect. Roads, except in and around the towns, were simply tracks made by the bullock drays of the squatters. As a consequence of the comparative isolation of the settlements, Provincialism was rampant. The southern members of the General Assembly grumbled at their liability to share the expenditure necessitated by native wars in the North Island, and some of them

went so far as to demand separation. But the days of Provincial Councils were, although they knew it not, already numbered. By 1870 they had passed their grand climacteric, and in a few years they gave up the ghost, unwillingly it must be confessed, and with no small outcry. What they achieved, and they had much good work to their credit, need not be discussed apart from general progress, which they too complacently attributed to their own legislative wisdom. They laboured under the mistake—pardonable in the early days of slow-sailing craft which took weeks to get from one settlement to another—that a strong central government is incompatible with good local government; so with all their might they nourished jealousies, petty ambitions and local prejudices, giving free rein to that self-centering process which makes it so difficult, except in the face of immediate danger, for Anglo-Saxon communities to sacrifice the smaller good for the greater. They and their ambitions, however, are now as dead as Julius Cæsar, and serve only to point a moral and adorn a tale—for the benefit of disintegrators of Empire.

In New Zealand, as in Australia, gold was the great magnet to draw population, and population is the prime need of a young country. As early as 1852, when all eyes were turned to Australia, gold had been discovered in the bed of a stream falling into Coromandel Harbour. A rush immediately took place, but although Te Taniwha gave permission to dig over his land, Taraia and other chiefs to whom most of the gold-bearing land belonged, stood in the way of extensive prospecting. The rush was, therefore, a failure. Only £1100 worth of gold was obtained and at a cost of £2000, but

great quantities of it were yet to be extracted from the district. A few years later, gold was discovered at Collingwood, in Nelson, and in 1858 the output was valued at £92,104. There was nothing phenomenal in either of these fields, however, and no great streams of population flowed towards them.

Although many rumors of gold were beginning to come from Otago, the sober Scotch community of that Province remained for a time impassive, fearing, it was thought, the evil consequences that might follow an inrush of wild rovers and adventurers. Presently, however, even their cold blood caught the infection, and the Provincial Council offered a reward of £500 for the discovery of a payable goldfield. In 1858, an Asiatic named Black Pete struck the precious metal at Lindis Pass, but the supply was soon exhausted. Three years later Gabriel Read found alluvial gold at Tuapeka, getting, it is said, £25 worth in ten hours with no better implement than a butcher's knife. He immediately informed the Superintendent of the Province, Major Richardson, and the fame of Gabriel Gully soon drew crowds of diggers from all the Colonies.

Tokomairiro, the nearest township, was promptly deserted, the Sunday services there being attended only by the minister and the precentor. Although it was the middle of winter and snow was falling, half Dunedin marched off to the diggings, and so many thousands poured in from Australia and elsewhere that the population was doubled in a few months. The diggers' life at Tuapeka was far from being a picnic. The climate was severe, the hills were bleak, and the roads were bad. Cartage cost as much as £150 a ton, and so little timber was found in the neighbourhood that £5 was given for a gin

case wherewith to make a miner's "cradle." Flour went up to £30 a ton, and other necessaries were equally dear. Many, of course, were disappointed, and either drifted into other pursuits or left the Colony; but thousands made a comfortable living and a few made fortunes. In 1863 the output from the Otago gold fields rose to two millions sterling. The effect upon the progress of the Province was magical. The revenue went at a bound from £97,000 to £470,000, and after the first excitement had cooled down, other industries began to flourish apace. With the exception of petty thefts and occasional brawls, the Otago diggers gave little trouble to the authorities, who, indeed, made excellent arrangements for the maintenance of order.

Close on the heels of the Otago "rush," came another to the west coast of Canterbury. Westland, as it is now called, is but a fringe of harbourless coast at the base of the Alps, the spurs and valleys of which are covered with dense jungles. It is a windy, rainy region, where the surveyor and prospector had many hardships to encounter in the shape of precipitous ravines, ice-cold mountain torrents, damp, dismal forests, and a general scarcity of provisions. Gold was known to exist there at the beginning of the decade, but it was not until 1865 that the rush set in. Within a few months the solitudes of the west were occupied by upwards of 30,000 men. Some walked over the mountain passes from the Canterbury Plains, but the greater number came by sea in small coasting vessels, which had difficulty in avoiding shipwreck on the shoals and bars which line the coast. Hokitika became in a few months one of the most populous cities in the Colony. The difficulty of transport sent prices up to an almost

incredible extent; flour, for example, being sold at £150 per ton. Yet, in spite of these drawbacks, the field was so rich that many were able to make from £8 to £10 a week, and for 1866 the export of gold amounted to £2,140,000. Except that the surrounding scenery was different, the life of the diggers on the West Coast did not differ much from that which prevailed on Australian and Californian gold-fields. There were the same motley crowds, the same collection of grog-shanties and stores, the same wild human picturesqueness. A few riots occurred, and four desperadoes for a time imitated the bush-rangers of Australia; but with these exceptions, ruffianism was conspicuously rare.

In Otago and Westland the gold was chiefly alluvial; in the Coromandel and Thames districts it occurred principally in quartz and was, therefore, more difficult to get at. The Maori land-owners still retarded the operations of the miners, but notwithstanding their opposition considerable quantities of gold were obtained.

Between 1860 and 1870, gold to the value of 22 million pounds sterling was exported from New Zealand. It would be difficult to over-estimate the influence of this sudden wealth upon the progress of the country. People now flocked to New Zealand, undeterred by Maori atrocities, and the great majority remained after the gold mania had abated, and applied themselves to the development of other industries. Another valuable result was the thorough exploration of the Middle Island. The squatter and the digger, aided by the surveyor, spied out the land and paved the way for closer settlement. Their adventures, especially those of the surveyors, in the mountainous regions of Canterbury and Otago, have

yet to be written, but there is no doubt that materials exist for a story almost as thrilling as that of the explorers of Australia. Some of them were lost for weeks and months at a time, entangled in bush and shut in by precipitous gorges, where they suffered all the privations that fall to the lot of mountaineers —hunger and exposure to intense cold and inclement weather.

Whilst the principal industries of this decade were sheep and cattle breeding, agriculture, and gold-mining, a considerable number of people found occupation in gum-digging, in dressing the native flax, and in the timber trade. Kauri-gum or resin is simply the "solidified turpentine of the Kauri." In a fossil condition it is abundant in the Northern part of the Province of Auckland, where it is found in dry fernhills or swamps. Large quantities are also obtained from the forks of trees. Lumps of fossil resin have been found which weigh as much as 100 lbs., but in general the lumps vary in size from a "walnut to a man's head." It varies much in quality and appearance, the best specimen being of a rich brown colour, and the worst being almost black. It is exported to England and America and is used in the manufacture of mouthpieces of pipes, cigar holders, etc., and especially in the manufacture of oil varnishes. In 1860, when the total output was 1046 tons, the price obtained was £9 per ton; at the end of the century it was worth about £60 a ton.

A commission which reported in 1898 on the condition of the Kauri-gum industry estimated the area of gum-bearing land at 814,000 acres. Land that had been roughly skimmed by the early diggers was found on further investigation to contain "two, three and sometimes four layers of gum, betokening

the existence of two or three Kauri forests, which, on disappearing, or, as is probable, on being destroyed by fire in ages past, left in succession their quota or layer of gum in the ground. On this account it has frequently happened that fields which years ago have been pronounced worked out have been taken up again and profitably reworked, and this same process is going on at present." *

In the decade discussed in this chapter, the gum-digger worked on his own account, without any particular system or combination, and, in general, made but a scanty living. It was, however, an easy mode of existence, requiring no capital and no tools except a spear, a pick and a shovel. A small fee was usually charged for digging on Crown lands, but the diggers roamed pretty well at will, rooting up the ground in all directions, and clearing the scrub away by the reckless method of putting a match to it. Most of them were pure nomads, with no better habitation than a tent or a roughly built slab *wharé;* and although a few industrious and saving individuals accumulated in time something like a fortune, the great majority spent their earnings at the grog-shops which were always temptingly near at hand. The land over which these people worked was left a desolation, bare of vegetation and trenched in a most unsightly manner. After the burning of the vegetation, the thin layer of soil was blown away and nothing remained but pipe-clay; and for years no effort was made either to check the wanton destruction of scrub or to reclothe the waste gum-lands with grass or trees. Recently, however, it has been found that the pipe-clay is not unsuitable for the

* *New Zealand Official Year Book* (1899).

growth of fruit trees, gorse, and certain hardy grasses, and no doubt in time the hideous trail of the gum-digger will be covered up and the land made useful. The industry of gum-digging still continues to flourish, and many years must elapse before the known fields are exhausted. In 1870 the output was valued at £175,074; and in 1898, it was £586,767.

New Zealand flax (*phormium tenax*) is a gigantic lily, with long sword-shaped leaves, growing usually in swamps, and at one time very abundant. The Maoris used it for a variety of textile purposes, obtaining the fibre by scraping the leaves with shells, work which was usually performed by women. The value of the fibre was soon perceived by the colonists, and the Maori hand process was replaced by mechanical treatment. Mills were established for "scutching" and "hackling" the flax; that is, for getting rid of the green covering and of the gum with which the fibre is mixed. Six tons of green flax were required to produce one ton of fibre. The value of the dressed flax has varied from £17 a ton to £40 a ton, and the industry itself has fluctuated with the price. In 1860 the value of the fibre exported was only £43; in 1870 it was £132,578; then it fell away and rose again to £381,789 in 1890. Of late years it has diminished rapidly, and unless flax-cultivation is vigorously pursued, the industry will cease to be of any importance.

The timber trade was confined chiefly to the north of Auckland, where Kauri forests abounded. It is one of the oldest of New Zealand industries, and the timber-getters in the Kauri district are the earliest settlers or their descendants. In the Kauri region, the logs were usually conveyed to the mills by flotation. When the tree was felled, the sawyers

cut it into convenient lengths and rolled the logs down a track to the nearest creek, where in most cases they had to remain, until a heavy rain brought sufficient water to float them down to the "booms." Sometimes the booms were unable to stand the immense pressure of accumulated logs, and the whole "drive," the harvest of a season, was carried out to sea and lost.

With 1860 New Zealand entered upon a period of rapid expansion in population, commerce, and industry. During the decade the face of the country underwent a great transformation; for, except in inaccessible or remote districts, or in regions where the Maori disturbances still continued, the settler and his works were now plainly apparent. The population was, of course, still sparse, especially in the pastoral districts where a few shepherds were perhaps the only human occupants of territory measuring hundreds of square miles. Nevertheless, the Colonists had removed much of the natural wildness of the country and had impressed upon it characteristics reminiscent of other lands and climates. In the far north might be seen vineyards and groves of oranges, lemons, and olives, for the climate was like that of the South of Europe. In Taranaki, Wellington, and Hawke's Bay, squatters and farmers were more in evidence. The farmers in "bush" country had no easy task before them, for the forest was in general so thick that it was impossible to get through it without cutting a way with the axe. When a bush farm was selected the trees had to be cut down—a wearisome process—and then the tangled heaps of timber had to be burned, and, finally, before the ground could be cultivated to any extent, the stumps had to be extracted or burned out.

All this required time, immense labour, and a certain amount of capital. The latter, however, was eked out by cutting down the family expenditure to the lowest limit; and as the forest land was nearly always rich, the farmer who had grit and perseverance found himself in a few years possessed of a really valuable estate. Men of this class, though owning plenty of pigs, cows and horses, were often hard put to it to find coin to pay local rates. Their wealth was entirely in kind. Mr. Edward Wakefield gives an interesting example of their impecuniosity: "Some little time ago a deputation came to Wellington to try to interest the merchants of Wellington in some organisation for the disposal of their produce. They were fine, big, sun-burned, good-natured, open-hearted fellows, and it seemed ludicrous to hear their complaints of their distressed condition. One of those to whom they applied for help in their proposed venture, remarked that he did not think they looked very miserable, for he had never seen a healthier or jollier set of men. 'Oh,' said one who was the spokesman of the party, 'there's no lack of food up our way. We have enough of that to stand a siege. But I don't believe we could raise thirty shillings in ready money in the whole settlement, and that's the trouble.'" Their life was arduous enough, yet for the most they were comfortable and happy; their homes were unpretentious huts of slab, or weatherboard or sod, but orchards and vegetable gardens took away the sordid air of wretchedness which hangs so oppressively about the "humpies" of back-block selectors in Australia. Their children "nine or ten," though clad in homely fashion and often innocent of boots, were hardy and robust.

The transformation of the Middle Island was much more complete. Thirty years ago it had been empty, now its waste spaces echoed to the stockman's whip, the barking of the nimble collie, or the multitudinous sounds that issue from gold-mining camps. Nelson was even now a "Sleepy Hollow," encircled by trees and gardens and the farms of small cultivators. On the Avon the Pilgrims had created a pleasant city which, notwithstanding that nearly all the houses were of wood, was not unlike a bit of the Home land to which their thoughts continually reverted. The richest land bordering upon the rivers already bore crops of wheat and oats, or fattened large herds of cattle on English grass and clover; the outlying tussocky plain was given up to the merino, but every sheep-station had its comfortable homestead, gardens, and cultivated fields. Communication between Christchurch and Port Lyttleton was now an easy matter; for, thanks to the foresight and energy of Mr. Moorehouse, a tunnel, nearly a mile and a half long, now pierced the hills and enabled trains to run from the vessel's side to the capital. For so small a community it was a colossal work, but Moorehouse had large ideas and faith in the future. Otago, with its gold mines, had advanced even more rapidly. The inundation of diggers bade fair to swamp the "Old Identities," but Dunedin remained just as Scotch and Presbyterian as Christchurch was English and Episcopalian. The industries were very similar; sheep and cattle and agriculture occupied those who had resisted the gold fever.

This summary may be closed with the mention of a fact that makes 1870 a landmark in New Zealand history. In that year an Act was passed providing

for the foundation of a University. A large proportion of the settlers were men of superior education, who from the outset strove to win for their children some of the advantages they themselves had enjoyed. Good schools and colleges already existed, and the system was now to be completed by the establishment of a University.

PART II.

EXPANSION AND EXPERIMENT.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE PUBLIC WORKS POLICY AND THE ABOLITION OF THE PROVINCES.

THE decade 1870–1880 constituted a striking and even sensational period in the progress of New Zealand. Its "leading features" were the initiation of the Public Works Policy, and, as a direct consequence of this, the abolition of the Provinces. When it opened, New Zealand was a federation of nine small provincial settlements; it had a population of something under a quarter of a million and a public debt of a little over seven millions; and it possessed few facilities for communication or transit: there were but 700 miles of telegraphs and 46 miles of railways. When it closed, New Zealand was a unified Colony; the provincial legislatures had been swept away and the government centralised in Wellington; the population had been doubled, the public debt trebled; and the government had constructed, out of borrowed money, some 4000 miles of telegraphs and 1100 miles of railways; with roads and bridges innumerable in most of the settled, and many of the unsettled, parts of the Colony. The immediate re-

sults of the Public Works Policy were political corruption and financial disaster; but subsequent history has proved that, if premature in conception and extravagant in administration, it has been productive of lasting good in accelerating the development of the colony.

The policy of constructing public works by means of money borrowed in the English market was not of course new. A great part of the seven millions already borrowed had been spent in this way; but it had been raised at great cost on the credit of the provincial legislatures only; and the piecemeal character of their work is strikingly exemplified by the fact that the 46 miles of railway completed in different parts of the country had been constructed on no less than three different gauges. Now, however, the central government came forward with a comprehensive and continuous scheme of constructing public works and aiding immigration by means of borrowed money.

The statesman who conceived and carried into execution this bold programme was Sir Julius Vogel. During the seven years he had sat in the House, his ability in finance, his convincing force as a journalist, his persuasive charm of manner, had made him a popular as well as an influential figure in New Zealand politics. By birth a Jew, he possessed most of the best and some of the worst characteristics of the race. He had a capacity for finance that amounted to genius; he had a love for the romance of speculation that amounted to a passion; the great future that awaited the undeveloped Colony appealed vividly to his quick fancy; the bold idea of anticipating that future fired his imagination. Would the people of New Zealand but draw

on posterity for a few millions, he saw for the colony in the immediate future an inrush of population, rapid expansion, unparalleled prosperity. He saw for himself the fascinating rôle of the brilliant financier dealing, as he loved to deal, in big millions and big ideas. He either did not foresee, or did not heed, the political corruption, reckless extravagance and disastrous collapse that must inevitably accompany his boom. He firmly believed in the ultimate good of his scheme, and history has justified the belief. But he was not a settler in the colony, he was at best but a carpet-bag politician; a citizen of the world, he had no territorial sympathies; his household gods planted no firm foot; if the crash came, he would—and did—"seek Lavinian shores."

His projects met with immediate and almost universal approval. Parliament gave itself up unreservedly to his schemes; and for six years he enjoyed an amount of confidence never before given to one man in the House. Outside Parliament his *mana* was equally great. Every class in the community had something to hope from a proposal to spend ten millions of borrowed money in the colony. For the workmen there were higher wages; for the traders higher prices. Each constituency had its bridge or road or railway in view to enrich the settlers; and the first duty of its representatives in Parliament was to see that they got it. Every landowner saw his freehold prospectively doubled in value. For ten years the settlers had been fighting with the Maori for peace and safety; now they fought with each other for loaves and fishes. For the inglorious struggle of the Maori Wars was substituted the still more inglorious struggle of "log-rolling."

Vogel found it an easy task to persuade the people. He became at once the popular idol. His frank and kindly nature; his unbounded confidence in himself and his scheme; his generosity to his friends, his even greater generosity to foes, would have won the heart of the people, even had his project not appealed so strongly to their interests. He belonged as truly to the *great race*—the race of borrowers—as Charles Lamb's prince of borrowers, Ralph Bigod, Esquire. He had, like Bigod, "an undeniable way with him," "in his periegesis or triumphal progress through these islands" he converted to his views, all but a tithe of the inhabitants; and with the whole country firmly devoted to Vogelism, he set out for England "like some Alexander upon his great enterprise, borrowing and to borrow!"

In the session of 1870 Parliament had passed Bills authorizing the floating in the London market of a loan of ten millions, and the sale of two and a half million acres of land to defray the cost of railway and other works and of state-aided immigration. A rise in prices of wool and wheat had improved the Colony's credit and no difficulty was found in raising this and subsequent loans, though the rates were high; the promised means of inland communication had created a feverish demand for land, and the two and a half million acres, the price of which was to be spent by the provincial governments, found a ready market. Vogel's administration of his policy was not so admirable as the inception of it. He committed the Colony, without the authority of Parliament, to contracts amounting to a million sterling, with a great firm of English railway contractors, at prices which were in some cases 20 per cent above engineers' estimates; when the

Government was free to let its contracts by tender, the cost was often 5 per cent below them. A great part of the loan was in this way extravagantly wasted. Nor was the Ministry of the day always strong enough to resist the log-rolling of members of the House. To retain power they were compelled to construct many miles of useless or premature railways and roads. Preliminary surveys were often hasty and many of the great arterial roads of the Colony have since had to be deflected or regraded. But for all the reckless faults in its administration, the Public Works policy has conferred untold good in developing the resources of the Colony and accelerating settlement. No subsequent Ministry, at least, has ever seriously proposed to depart from its main principles, though strong reaction has set in against its reckless haste. During Vogel's administration the public debt of the Colony rose from seven to twenty millions; it has since been increased to £46,000,000—of which the last eight have been added by a government distinctly pledged to a non-borrowing policy. But the wealth, population, and resources of the Colony have grown even more rapidly than its indebtedness; and in spite of a public debt that amounts to £61 4s. 5d. per head of population, New Zealand's credit in the money markets of the world stands higher than ever before. In 1875 Sir Julius Vogel sold a four million 4 per cent loan to the Rothschilds at a price that realised a trifle less than 91 per cent. In 1898 New Zealand 3 per cent stock was quoted at 101.

"Next to a prolific soil and the possession of great natural resources," says a prominent authority, "there is no adjunct of material prosperity that is so generally important and exercises so vital an in-

fluence on national characteristics as the growth of the railway system." * In recognition of this truth by far the most important item in the Public Works programme was railway construction. Of the 46 millions of our public debt, 15, or a little under one-third, have been spent on railways. In 1870, with the exception of three short lines—in all 46 miles—connecting Auckland, Christchurch and Invercargill with adjacent seaports, there were no railways in the colony. There are now 2090 miles open for traffic, constructed at a total cost of £7,848 per mile, and yielding a net revenue equal to £3.5 per cent on the outlay. A trunk line runs along the East Coast of the South Island for the greater part of its length from Bluff Harbour in the extreme south, through Dunedin and Christchurch to the Hurunui River; it is ultimately destined to terminate at the port of Picton, in the north of the island. Similarly a trunk line will ultimately run through the centre of the North Island from Wellington to Auckland, though the portion in the interior is yet to be constructed. When these lines are completed, as they will be in the not far distant future, there will be through railway communication from Auckland in the north to the Bluff in the south, with the single interruption of a six hours' steamer service across the boisterous Cook's Strait. A transverse line connects the East and West Coasts of the North Island from Napier to New Plymouth; and in course of time the East and West Coasts of the South Island will be similarly connected by a railway from Christchurch to Greymouth.

Next in importance to railway construction in Vogel's programme came state-aided immigration.

* *New Zealand Year Book* (1894)

Settlers were induced to come out to the Colony by part payment of their passage money and by grants of Crown lands. The prosperity of the Colony and the scope for employment it offered attracted many others; and between 1871 and 1881 the population increased from a quarter to half a million. Little care was taken to select settlers with capital or experience. Messrs. Brogden & Sons, the railway contractors, for example, sent out 2000 "navvies"; while the Public Works Policy was in full swing they did well enough, when it collapsed they went to swell the ranks of unemployed unskilled labour. Large numbers of German and Scandinavian settlers were also imported. Most of them were ignorant of farming; few of them possessed money; and none of them knew a word of the language. They were dumped down on 40-acre grants of bush-clad land in the central parts of the North Island, where names like Dannevirke and Norsewood attest the nationality of the original settlers. Most of them found Colonial life a hard school; but they have thriven in the face of enormous disadvantages; and their sons and daughters, English in their language and their ideas, are now settled in comfortable homesteads on fertile dairy farms where only a few charred stumps or the ruins of a log hut remain to remind them of the difficulties their fathers conquered a generation ago.

Vogelism had other results, however, than the creation of 40-acre settlements. It produced the wildest "land-boom" the Colony has known. The North Island provinces had little land to sell; the natives there still held most of the territory. But the South Island provinces had broad acres; the revenue from the sale of these, by "The Land Com-

pact of 1856," passed to the Provincial exchequers; and the legislatures vied with each other in selling their acres and swelling their revenues. In Canterbury, in particular, hundreds of thousands of acres were sold on the "free selection" system at a fixed price of £2 an acre. Hundreds of thousands more changed hands between private owners at prices ridiculously inflated. Times were prosperous; markets were rising; borrowed millions were pouring into the country; and the people gave themselves up without restraint to a mad land-gamble. The worst feature of these sales by Provincial legislatures was that they were effected, in most cases, without any attempt to impose restraint on areas purchaseable or to compel occupation or improvement. The result was that enormous blocks of fertile land were locked up in the hands of speculators and absentee-owners; and, as we shall presently see, all attempts to rescue for the state any portion of the increased values conferred upon these lands by the roads and railways were successfully resisted by the advocates of provincialism, backed up by the landholders who at this time had a predominant voice in government.

We have said that the Public Works Policy led, as its direct consequence, to the abolition of the Provincial system of government. That system was the natural outcome, in part, of the settlement of the Colony at different periods by independent colonising associations; in part, of the geographical configuration of the country. It had many advantages to commend it and had so far worked well. But it was not adapted, without considerable amendment, to the growing national life. As originally constituted, the government of each province was

entrusted to a Provincial Council, members of which were elected on a household suffrage, by separate districts; and to a Superintendent, chosen by the whole body of electors in the province. In the Council was vested the legislative, in the Superintendent, the executive functions of government. But the powers of legislation delegated to the Council were much too wide and led to an intolerable waste of power and an equally intolerable variety of laws. The spectacle of nine Provincial Councils, in a colony with a quarter million inhabitants, framing independent laws and systems on such matters as taxation and land-settlement, education and licensing, harbours and railways, approached closely to the farcical. Equally farcical was their exercise of executive power. There had grown up in most of the provinces an elaborate system of government by responsible ministries, a cumbersome parliamentary procedure, and a pretentious and expensive mockery of government by party, which had only the effect of obscuring and destroying the original plan of a popularly elected Superintendent acting as a check upon a less popularly elected chamber. From the first, there had been in the General Assembly a party strongly opposed to the continuance of these provincial legislatures. The confusion of land-laws, the chaos of education systems, the conflict in administrative machinery, had increased the opposition. The large land revenues of the Southern provinces roused the jealousy of the Northern. And now, when a comprehensive system of public works was proposed, the existence of the provincial system proved an obstacle to its successful adoption. Sir Julius Vogel had been elected as a strong provincialist. His wise scheme for recouping the cost of rail-

ways by reserving as public estate the land through which they would pass—a far-sighted anticipation of the principle of Betterment—was defeated by provincialists, jealous for their lands. An equally wise measure for planting State forests to counterbalance the rapid deforestation of the country before the advance of settlement, was similarly defeated by provincialists, jealous for their prerogatives. These two checks turned Vogel from an advocate into an enemy of the system; and the provinces were doomed.

The manner of their abolition cannot be defended. Vogel himself had been elected as a provincialist, and he gave his constituency no opportunity of pronouncing a verdict upon his change of attitude. Many of the party who now followed him in the House had similarly altered their views without consulting the electors. The House could, in fact, in no true sense be said to reflect public opinion. It was elected for five years on a limited suffrage; the basis of representation was so anomalous that, while one member represented as many as 1600 electors, another represented only 103. And this House, divorced as it was from public opinion in the Colony, carried out this important change in the constitution without giving the people a fair opportunity to pronounce a verdict.

The representatives of the middle provinces in Parliament were in favour of abolition. Auckland and Otago opposed it. But subsidies to local bodies, —road boards, harbour boards, and town corporations—were offered with such lavish extravagance as to amount to the grossest bribery.

Outside the House public opinion was in a state of ferment. Sir George Grey, who had been living

in retirement for some years at his beautiful island of Kawau among his beloved books and his faithful Maori attendants, came back into public life to defend the constitution he had framed. He consented to accept the position of Superintendent of the Province of Auckland and also became the representative of Auckland City in Parliament. He at once became the recognised leader of the Provincial Party. He developed a gift of eloquence as irresistible as it was unexpected. His fervid enthusiasm, his picturesque imagination, the rich music of his voice, the convincing force of his periods made him probably the finest platform orator New Zealand has known. At public meetings throughout the Colony he carried all before him. The great proconsul had become equally great as the tribune of the people.

In 1874, Sir Julius Vogel went to England again on another of his financial expeditions, "borrowing and to borrow." Dr. Pollen became Premier; but Major Atkinson had charge of the Bill which proposed the abolition of the provinces in both islands. Sir George Grey took his seat as member for Auckland and as leader of the opposition. Long and acrimonious were the debates; every constitutional device of obstruction and stone-walling was resorted to by the opposition; mass meetings throughout the Colony clamoured for an appeal to the people. But all would not do. The centralist majority was as solidly united as it was numerically overpowering. At length what was called a compromise was effected. The Bill was to pass; but was not to come into force till after a general election.

This plausible concession really cheated the people of their right to an effective expression of opinion. The Bill was presented to the constituencies, not as

an open question, but as an accomplished fact. Every member who stood as a provincialist had to reconcile his constituents to the loss of a bridge, or a road, or a railway or some promised local subsidy. Another Bill prohibited the provincial councils from meeting till after the next sitting of Parliament, and thus gagged the most effective mouthpiece of public opinion. A further Bill added ten new members to the House, the majority of the new electorates being in the districts favourable to abolition.

The result was what might have been expected. The subsidies proved too tempting a sop to the constituencies, and the new Parliament, elected amid turmoil and excitement unprecedented in the history of the Colony, contained like its predecessor a centralist majority, and abolition remained in force.

The lapse of years has proved that abolition was a wise measure. It was at least preferable to the continuance of the old system unamended; and the restoration of the provincial system has never since been a serious political question, though the old jealousies long remained—and still remain—a disturbing element in the Colony's politics. The central system of government established in 1876, despite its defects of origin, has justified itself, like the Public Works policy, by its ultimate results.

As a substitute for the provincial legislatures, a Local Government Act created 63 counties and an endless succession of subordinate governing bodies. There are separate councils to manage counties and towns; separate boards to control harbours, and roads, drainage and irrigation, hospitals and charitable aid; while educational, electoral and judicial districts overlap each other in a hopelessly confused network of boundaries. The multiplicity and in-

tricacy of these petty local bodies is, in view of the small population of the Colony, almost as sorry a burlesque as the old system of government by nine parliaments. But while the well-regulated provincial system resulted in a vigorous local activity, its chaotic substitute has produced only apathy and inefficiency. The people of New Zealand take a keen and intelligent interest in general politics; as to municipal matters they are strikingly indifferent. Various schemes have from time to time been proposed for a thorough-going amalgamation and rearrangement of this unsystematic system of local government. But no Ministry has so far had the energy or the courage to see them through.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CONTINUOUS MINISTRY.

For a period of twenty years, from 1870 to 1890, New Zealand was governed, except for two short intervals, by a combination, or a succession of combinations of rulers who constituted what will be known in its history as the "Continuous Ministry." The exceptions were the ministry of Sir George Grey (1877–1879) and the Stout-Vogel Coalition (1884–1887). During the remaining fifteen years the "Continuous Ministry" held the reins of government. In the early seventies it was a Fox-Vogel-Atkinson combination; during the early eighties it was an Atkinson-Whitaker-Hall combination. Personal changes there were many; the position of Premier in the Combination changed no less than ten times within the period. Its policy, too, changed with the changing circumstances of the Colony. During the prosperity of the seventies, it was borrowing and extravagance; during the depression of the eighties, it was borrowing and retrenchment; but, though less and less, borrowing always. It has now come to be regarded as a "Conservative" administration. Yet it passed many constitutional reforms in the direction of radicalism, and it extended, in some remarkable ways, the functions of the State —a policy usually regarded, in New Zealand at any rate, as distinctly "Liberal." It is true that in some of its radical reforms, like the extension of the fran-

chise,, it merely adopted the programme which Sir George Grey with his small majority was unable to carry into effect during his premiership. But a combination of rulers that included Sir Harry Atkinson, with his persistent advocacy of old age annuities; Sir John Hall with his ardent championship of women's Franchise; the Hon. W. Rolleston with his village-settlement schemes; and the Hon. C. C. Bowen with his free and compulsory Education Act, cannot without violence to language be called "Tory" or "Retrogressive." No doubt Sir George Grey's influence, whether in or out of office, contributed largely to the adoption of democratic reforms; no doubt also, Sir Robert Stout and the Hon. John Ballance, in the Stout-Vogel Coalition, were responsible for many useful progressive measures. But for fifteen years of the twenty, the "Continuous Ministry" were in office; during the two intervals when they were in opposition, they were so strong numerically as to exercise a powerful control over legislation; and to them must be ascribed the major part of the credit for what was good, and of the blame for what was bad, in the political developments of the period.

The aim of this book, however, is to narrate, impartially as far as can be, the story of the Colony's progress, not to apportion to contending political parties their share of praise or blame. It will therefore only be necessary to indicate very briefly the chief changes of ministry that occurred.

We have already in the preceding chapter sketched the history of the Public Works Policy and its results. In 1876, its originator, Sir Julius Vogel, after seeing the Colony fairly embarked on its career of borrowing, left it to work out its own financial

salvation and accepted the post of Agent-General in London. Sir Harry (then Major) Atkinson succeeded to the premiership of the Continuous Ministry, but gave place, after a year, to Sir George Grey. He had rallied the old Provincial party round him and carried the 1877 election on a strongly radical programme which included triennial parliaments, one man one vote and a land tax. Grey as Premier preached economy, his colleagues practised extravagance; on the platform he had easily captivated the electors with his nebulous projects for the good of the "unborn millions"; in the cabinet he proved an autocratic and tactless leader; was quite unable to control his colleagues; and soon quarrelled with the best of them. His majority was too small to allow him to carry his constitutional reforms; the land tax which he did carry did not produce the expected revenue; and when he left office in 1879, after two years of administrative muddling, the public debt had been increased by five millions; the revenue had diminished; and a fall in the prices of our staple products had produced commercial depression. The time for taxation and retrenchment had come; and the Hall-Atkinson party were called to office to apply the drastic remedy. Their taxation took the form of a Property Tax of one penny in the pound on the capital value of every citizen's possessions. Their retrenchment was effected by the rough and ready method of a ten per cent reduction in all public salaries. Such a policy was not likely to be long popular. In 1884, accordingly, when Sir Julius Vogel returned to the Colony, he was soon restored to popular favour and again entered the House. He had become divorced from the old "Continuous" party; and Sir George Grey had

been deposed from the leadership of the "Liberal" section of the House, in which the most conspicuous member now was Sir Robert (then Mr.) Stout. The two joined forces and assumed office as the Stout-Vogel Coalition. Vogel as Treasurer pushed on borrowing and public works, though not with the old daring or the old extravagance. Stout and Ballance devoted themselves to legislation in the direction of social improvement. So ill-matched a team did not long pull together, and 1887 found the Colony's finances still far removed from a condition of equilibrium. Once more Atkinson was called in to "save the republic" by the same unpopular means of increased taxation and retrenchment. The customs duties were increased till they became, though nominally imposed for revenue purposes, practically protective. The salaries of the Governor and the Ministers and the honorariums of members of Parliament were cut down; and the number of members of the elective chamber was reduced from 95 to 74. The Colony had at last set its house in order; and when the Continuous Ministry had finally accomplished the ungrateful task, it was driven from office and made its exit from the stage of New Zealand politics. Sir Harry Atkinson did not long survive his retirement from Ministerial duties. For years past, as its most able financier, he had been the prop and stay of the "Continuous Ministry"; and upon him had fallen the brunt of its work. His colleagues had recruited their energies in longer or shorter periods of retirement; he had been ever at his post. When driven from office, he exchanged the Treasury Bench in the Lower House for the Speaker's chair in the Upper. But he did not long live to enjoy his release from the fitful fever of party strife. In

1892 he died, as he would have wished to die, in harness—in the precincts of that House in which so many strenuous years of his life had been passed in the service of the Colony. The last words of the trusty soldier-politician were characteristic of the man: "I have received my marching orders." *Justum et tenacem propositi virum!*

Some important constitutional changes were effected during the period covered by the history of the "Continuous Ministry," all in the direction of increasing the popular control over the legislature. A Ballot Bill was passed on the eve of their accession to power. The principle of payment of members was established, thus removing an important restriction upon the selection of representatives. Members of the Legislative Council are paid £150, of the House of Representatives £240, per annum; in each case the salary is paid monthly, with deductions for absence during session and a liberal allowance for travelling expenses. The duration of Parliament was reduced from five years to three; and in 1887–1889 Acts were passed removing anomalies then existing and placing the system of representation upon a strict population basis. To the "country population"—that is to say people living outside of towns of 2000 or more inhabitants—28 per cent is added; and the total European population of the Colony thus ascertained, is divided by 70—the number of European members, and the quotient obtained gives the electoral quota. It will be readily imagined that this arithmetical process of arriving at electoral districts gives rise to some difficulties in the limitation of boundaries; but the electoral Commissioners have a reasonable margin allowed within which to exercise their discretion, and this enables them to

fix the districts with some regard for community of interest, facilities for communication, and topographical features. The Maori population is divided into four electoral districts, each returning one native member to the House of Representatives; and two Maoris have seats in the Legislative Council. Provision is made for interpreting their speeches. This was no doubt necessary twenty or thirty years ago. But so many Maoris now speak and write English, and education has made such marked progress among them, that it would be no hardship to compel the natives to select as their representatives men conversant with the English language. Several of the Maori members at present in Parliament are among its most educated and polished speakers; and only occasionally employ an interpreter with the adroit purpose of prolonging a "stone-wall."

But the most far-reaching constitutional change effected during these years was the adoption, in 1899 of the principle popularly known as "one man, one vote." The qualification for electors was two-fold. There was a "property qualification" in virtue of holding property in an electoral district; and a "residential qualification" in virtue of living in it. An elector might record as many votes at any election as there were electoral districts in which he possessed property or resided, the only limitation on this power being the travelling necessary. The Act of 1889 forbade an elector to exercise a vote in respect of more than one constituency at the same election. It thus placed the franchise in New Zealand on what was practically a manhood basis. By a subsequent amending Act * the last political privi-

* Under the 1889 Act an elector retained the option of de-

lege attached to the ownership of property was done away with in the colony.

It is inevitable in a young community that the functions of Government should be more extensive than is necessary, or perhaps advisable, in older countries. In New Zealand, at all events, the doctrine of *laissez-faire* has never met with much acceptance. "State Socialism" in New Zealand is often regarded as having begun in 1891; and, as we shall see in the next chapter, that year did mark an important change in public opinion on socialistic legislation. But the colony had already, under the *régime* of the "Continuous Ministry," advanced far on the same path of development. The Public Works Policy placed in the hands of the State the ownership and management of the whole Railway, Telegraph and Telephone systems of the colony; the Central Government during the same period founded and endowed the New Zealand University and established our State system of "free, secular, and compulsory" education; and it undertook, in addition, the business of Life Insurance, a system of Land Transfer, and a Public Trust Office.

In 1870, the Government of New Zealand, with a view to promoting thrift among the colonists, established a State Life Insurance office. At that time they had not the facilities they now enjoy of insuring with private Companies, and there can be little doubt that the institution of a system of State life insurance gave a great stimulus to this form of

ciding in which electorate he would exercise his one vote. He might vote where he resided or where he owned property—a provision of some importance in the case of a bye-election. An Act of 1896 abolished the 'property qualification."

thrift, the "State guarantee" forming an attraction to many people in whose minds is a rooted distrust of joint-stock Companies. It is at any rate a fact that the people of New Zealand carry, proportionately, more insurance on their lives than the population of any other nation in the world; and that the State office is responsible for this admirable result to the extent of holding nearly one-half of the total assurance of the colony. On the average, every male adult carries life insurance amounting to a little over £75. The popularity of the institution is abundantly proved by the fact that in the quarter century, 1872–1897, the number of policies in the Government Office increased from less than two thousand to more than thirty-six thousand, and the sum assured from half a million to nine millions.

In 1870, also, Sir Julius Vogel established the Torrens system of Land Transfer in the Colony. All Crown Grants are now made under it; lands, alienated before it came into force, can be brought under it, where a clear title exists. The transfer of lands, once made subject to the Act, is effected by a simple and inexpensive process; the outlay of a few shillings enables a purchaser to secure a perfect and indefeasible title, guaranteed by the State. Practically, Government offices do the whole of the conveyancing business of the country; and the cheapness and security of the system has contributed in no small degree to the rapid progress of land settlement.

In 1872, the Public Trust Office was instituted. The scheme was first suggested by the Hon. E. C. J. Stevens, an able man of business, who several times held office in the "Continuous Ministry"; but the credit of carrying it into effect belongs in this case, as in that of the Government Life Insurance

Office, to Sir Julius Vogel. The Public Trustee administers intestate estates in cases where the relatives of the deceased are unknown, or where the persons entitled to administer request him to do so, or neglect to apply for the necessary authority themselves. Testators may appoint him sole trustee of their wills. He administers fully ninety per cent of the estates of lunatics in the colony; and he may be named substitute for any trustees of property in the colony, who are unwilling or unable to perform their duties. The Public Trust Office confers these advantages for the most moderate charges; the advice of the office solicitor is given gratis in matters of administration; and the whole machinery of the office is conducive to economy and expedition. The Public Trustee never dies, never leaves the Colony, never becomes insolvent. The fidelity of his administration is secured by statute; the Colony guarantees Capital monies against loss by bad investments, and secures to the beneficiaries the payment of a common rate of interest. The Public Trust Office is deservedly one of the most popular, as it is one of the most admirable, Government Institutions in the Colony; the people have absolute confidence in it; and as its usefulness and convenience become better known, its services will be more and more in request. At the present time 2413 estates of various kinds are administered by the Public Trustee—their aggregate value being close upon two millions.

But while the reforms in the Constitution and the experiments in Socialism carried out by the Continuous Ministry are worthy of all praise, their Native Policy was disgraced by a blunder that was worse than a crime. During the first seven years of

their administration, Native affairs were under the entire direction of Sir Donald McLean. He was probably the wisest Native Minister the Colony has possessed. His conciliatory attitude—his "Sugar and Blankets Policy," as it was called—brought about what the "alarums and excursions" of regulars and militia had failed to effect—the Maori War died out. The "King movement" had fizzled away, and Tawhiao was left to the enjoyment of an empty dignity—a King of shadows. On the West Coast, the misjudged patriot Wiremu Kingi was induced to return to his lands at Waitara; and the "infamous character" and "essential savage" of Governor Browne's despatches was received in New Plymouth with joyful acclaims, by the children of the settlers who had so long mistaken him for a bloodthirsty foe. Te Kooti was never captured, the pursuit was abandoned in 1872, and twelve years after he received the Queen's pardon. Everywhere the Maoris had desisted from active hostility, and had McLean's policy of even-handed justice and generous forbearance in our dealings with the natives been persisted in, no more would have been heard of discord between the races.

But after his retirement in 1876 the administration of native affairs was characterised successively by blundering incapacity and high-handed arrogance. Mr. John Sheehan was Native Minister in the Grey administration; Mr. John Bryce in the Atkinson-Hall Government. The first would not, the second could not, understand the grievances of the natives, much less deal with them in a sympathetic and conciliatory spirit. They succeeded between them in bringing about the pitiable fiasco of Parihaka; the wonder is that they did not plunge the colony into another war.

The Taranaki war had been followed, we have seen, by wholesale confiscation. But promises had repeatedly been given that reserves should be made from the confiscated territory, and restored to those natives who had remained friendly during the contest or had laid aside their hostility. Minister after Minister had given the friendly natives the same assurance;—*Ergo tua rua manebunt.* But the performance of these promises was again and again delayed. Instead, the Grey Government caused the Parihaka lands to be advertised for sale; surveyors were sent to make sectional surveys and to lay out roads. No explanation was offered to the natives, and no mention made to them of any intention to set aside reserves for them. The past experience of the Taranaki Maoris had not been such as to make them trust the Government; and they naturally concluded that it intended again to break faith with them.

That war was averted was due entirely to the wise patience and generous forbearance of the Parihaka Maoris; for they were at this time completely subject to the influence of a most remarkable man—Te Whiti. In rank a chief, he was an orator rather than a soldier, a priest rather than a ruler; but his *mana* among his own people was greater probably than that of the greatest soldier-chief the race had owned. Educated in the tenets of the Christian faith by a Lutheran missionary and deeply versed in biblical lore, he had, whilst professing not to abandon Christianity, constructed out of the Scriptures a vaguely mystical religion peculiarly adapted to the genius of the race. He was reverenced by his people with unquestioning faith, as the inspired Prophet, the God-sent Messiah of the Maori. His subtle mind, his lofty eloquence, his intense and earnest

patriotism, gave him a sway over the hearts and lives of his people that was absolutely unbounded. No Roman father, even in the earliest days of the *patria potestas* ever exercised more absolute dominion over his *familia* than Te Whiti over his *hapu*. And this enormous influence was all in the direction of peace. No Quaker ever interpreted more strictly the Gospel that commanded peace on earth or obeyed more consistently the injunction to turn the cheek to the smiter. He had declined to take part in hostilities in 1865; he restrained his people from joining in the outbreak under Titokowaru in 1868; and through all the turbulent years that followed they had lived at peace with the *pakeha*. And now, when they saw their lands invaded by surveyors, and about to be sold, as they thought, in defiance of faith and pledges, he commanded his people to oppose indeed, but only to oppose with a masterly policy of "passive resistance." The Maoris had been promised unmolested possession of not less than one-fourth of the confiscated land on the Waimate Plain. Yet the Grey Government sent a Commissioner on to the land with instructions to carry out a sectional survey; nothing was said to the Maoris of any intention to respect their rights or to leave them any portion of their lands. On the contrary the survey-lines were taken right through their growing crops; and 16,000 acres of the land were actually advertised for sale.

A batch of Te Whiti's followers pulled up the survey-pegs, were arrested, and sent to prison. More surveyors came and more pegs were put in; but more and more bands of orderly, good-tempered, but determined Maoris were forthcoming to pull them out again and to take their turn cheerfully at

going to prison. When this had gone on for some time, Te Whiti determined on retaliatory measures: he sent ploughmen to plough up the grass lands of the English settlers. "Go, put your hands to the plough, and look not back;" such were his instructions, "If any come with guns and swords, be not afraid. If any smite, smite you not again. If fear fill the minds of the *pakehas* and they flee from their farms as in the old war days, enter not their houses, touch not their goods, slay not their herds. My eye is over all; and the thief shall not go scatheless. I will not resist the soldiers if they come. I would gladly let them crucify me!" The ploughmen went to gaol; but more ploughmen and still more took their places; till at length there were 400 Maoris in the prisons of the colony whose only crime was that they had bravely and faithfully obeyed their patriotic if fanatical chief.

When the Grey Government went out of office, Mr. John Bryce succeeded Mr. Sheehan as Native Minister. A Royal Commission was set up to enquire into the West Coast difficulty. Its report was unreservedly in favour of the native claims. "The disaffection was only the natural outcome of a vacillating and futile policy; the trouble might have been mastered at any time if only scrupulous good faith had waited on steadfast councils and consistent purpose." "The only right way," declared the Commissioners, "was that the land, which was rightly theirs, with their villages and cultivations, their burial grounds and fishing-places, should be surveyed, marked off on the ground, and handed to the Maoris as their inalienable possession." And they solemnly warned the Government, in the words of Mr. John Bright, that "There is no statesmanship in mere

acts of force and acts of repression." But the Government were evidently determined not to try the one way that was right, till they had exhausted the ninety-nine ways that were wrong. Mr. John Bryce was a well-meaning, honest, and capable man; but his experiences in the Taranaki War had warped his judgment and embittered his feelings on native questions. He was a man, too, of indomitable will; and by making acquiescence in his native policy a condition of remaining in the Cabinet, he drew his colleagues with him in a perilous course from which they were ultimately extricated more by good luck than good management.

That policy was simply coercion. The Commissioners, Sir F. D. Bell and Sir W. Fox, two of the colony's best and wisest rulers, had declared that Te Whiti's claims were just and his intentions pacific. But in Mr. Bryce's eyes he was a mad fanatic and dangerous rebel, who must be dragooned into submission. "The idea of negotiating with Te Whiti," he declared, "is perfectly preposterous." The "outrages" at Parihaka—ploughing and peg-pulling—still continued; it is true Te Whiti made no attempts to arm his followers and none of them opposed the least resistance to arrest. But Parliament and people had become nervous. The peaceful religion of Te Whiti was confounded with the bloody tenets of the Hau-Haus, and the wholesale massacre of the Taranaki settlers was anticipated with lively terror by the excited imagination of the ignorant public.

Mr. Bryce had his way. A demonstration in force was to be made to overawe the Natives and Te Whiti was to be cast into prison and so accorded the martyrdom he courted. An "army" of 1700

Armed Constabulary and citizen-soldiers, recruited from all parts of the colony, was "mobilized" at Parihaka.

In the early summer morning of November 5th, 1881, the "army" marched on to Parihaka; in command was Major Tuke, a veteran of the Maori Wars; at its head rode Mr. Bryce on an old white horse, which, says an eye-witness, looked as care-worn and unhappy as its rider. The soldiers, as they approached the enemy's camp, were "straining on the leash," eager to cover themselves with glory, and return, if they returned at all, "dashed with drops of onset."

There met them, at the outskirts of the village, not an horde of tattooed warriors armed to the teeth, dancing the wild *haka* and hurling words and spears of defiance, but two hundred little children, dancing with rhythmic grace a dance of welcome, and with the most hearty confidence and good humour, laughing with childish glee in the faces of the red-coated strangers! Behind them came their mothers bearing five hundred loaves of bread which Te Whiti had bid them bake to feed the invading host!

Mr. Bryce did not appreciate either the humour or the pathos of the situation. He expected bullets, and they gave him bread. He peremptorily ordered the men to refuse the proffered peace-offering; and proceeding into the village, which the "army" now surrounded, ordered the Riot Act to be read. It had no terrors, even when translated, for this Quakers' meeting. Tohu, Te Whiti's chief counsellor, addressed the people: "Let the man who has raised the war do his work this day. Be patient, O my people, and even if the bayonet comes to your breast, resist not."

A picked party of ninety-five men, armed with revolvers and handcuffs, arrested the unresisting Te Whiti and Tohu and they were conveyed to the New Plymouth lock-up. The "army of occupation" remained in Parihaka for a week; the whares were searched for arms and some two hundred guns, used by the Maoris in pig-hunting, were confiscated. The natives from other districts were ordered to return to their homes, and when they refused, arrested. Te Whiti and Tohu were "tried" before a local magistrate, and committed to the common gaol at New Plymouth. They were clothed in convict garb and for a time denied the solace of their pipes. Early in the New Year they were taken to Christchurch, and there a healthier public opinion compelled the Government to treat them more humanely. They were relieved from the monstrous indignity of prison clothes; were taken to visit an Industrial Exhibition then in progress, and afterwards sent on a visit to the Otago Sounds. After sixteen months they were restored to their people; the long promised reserves were given to the natives; and Parihaka is now a peaceful and prosperous community. Thus did the pitiable tragedy of the Maori Wars conclude with an equally pitiable farce.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY.

With the beginning of the last decade of the Century, New Zealand may be said to have entered on a new epoch in its history. Before this time, the interests represented by land and capital had on the whole the controlling voice in the government of the colony; now it is labour that is the "predominant partner." True, there were radicals in those days, also. But up till this time the reins of government were, as we have seen, with occasional brief interruptions, in the hands of Statesmen of the conservative, stake-in-the-country type; they have since been held by a younger, more daring, class of men who are radicals by conviction and politicians by profession.

In the earlier years of its history, the Colony was busy with the practical work of pioneer settlement, with fighting the Maori, with constitution-making, with the construction of roads, railways and bridges. But by the close of the eighties, these activities were practically exhausted. The stream of immigration had ceased, the natives were pacified, the abolition excitement had subsided, the Public Works Policy had been suspended. A time of severe commercial depression followed: in the government service drastic retrenchment had taken the place of wild extravagance; in the country, land, wood, and grain had fallen alarmingly in value; in the towns, wages

had decreased and the unemployed were clamouring for bread. All this had produced the "divine discontent" which is the precursor of social change. The public mind gave itself over to political and economic theorising; and we entered upon ten years of legislative experiments.

We have seen that one of the last acts of the "Continuous Ministry" was to place the Electoral franchise on a manhood basis, embodying the principle of "one man, one vote" and cancelling the political privileges hitherto attaching to the ownership of property. The result of the Franchise extension soon became apparent in the elections of December, 1890. The old "Conservative" party was swept from power and the new "Liberal" party, as it likes to call itself, was returned by the constituencies with an overwhelming majority.

These names, Conservative and Liberal, it should be explained, are used in New Zealand without much regard to their historical connotation. The position and aims of the Liberals will perhaps be better understood if we call them the Progressives in the sense that they are more daring in legislative experiment, less hampered by constitutional precedents, and less tender for "vested interests" than the party they succeeded. They are in fact Socialistic Radicals; but the name Progressives is that by which the Agent-General for the Colony in London, Mr. W. P. Reeves, usually speaks and writes of them; and as he played no small or unworthy part in formulating the policy and establishing the popularity of the party, he has fairly vindicated his claim to stand sponsor.

The party was well led in the Elections and well organised. When the House met, it was soon seen

that the Progressive majority formed a somewhat heterogeneous body, internally divided on several side issues, of which the Liquor Question formed the main line of cleavage. But on the general programme they were united and loyal to their chiefs. It was a party essentially elected in the interests of the wage-earning class; but happily there was no distinct "Labour" section; nor has there ever been in New Zealand a "Labour Party" in the sense of a compact body of workmen-politicians such as in the other Australian Colonies frequently constitutes a formidable parliamentary unit and frequently contrives to hold the "balance of power." Many of the members were new to political life; they were for the most part journalists, lawyers, traders, or small farmers: four, only, belonged to the artisan class: one carpenter, one brass-founder, and two shoemakers. Although in subsequent elections a larger proportion of artisans have sometimes been returned, the wage-earners of New Zealand have so far been singularly reluctant to select representatives from their own ranks.

It is of some importance to consider briefly the character and abilities of the new party. At its head was Mr. John Ballance, a journalist, who had had considerable parliamentary and some ministerial experience. He was a Radical trained originally in the school of Sir George Grey. A man of great capacity as an organiser, of unquestioned sincerity of purpose, he possessed a gentle, conciliatory charm of manner that made him a tactful manager of debate. Mr. John MacKenzie was a practical farmer, with strong democratic views on land questions. The training and instincts of a Scotch, and afterwards a New Zealand, shepherd had made him the

inveterate foe of land-monopolists and "dummy" speculators; while his huge physique, keen intelligence, and indomitable will-power gave him an influence in the House which occasional outbursts of fiery temper and raucous invective could only slightly modify. Mr. Richard John Seddon, originally a Lancashire man, had won rich experience in the romantic ups and downs of life in a mining settlement on the West Coast diggings; he had sat for fourteen consecutive sessions in Parliament, and had already given ample proof of those qualities of head and heart which have since made him so successful as a leader of men. Mr. William Pember Reeves, son of the proprietor and sometime editor of the most influential radical newspaper in the Colony, had done signal service to the party, though he had only had three years of actual Parliamentary experience. A polished and pleasing speaker, and a still more convincing writer, his eloquent appeals for a "United Canterbury" had resulted in our great agricultural province returning, in each of its fourteen constituencies, members pledged to the Progressive platform. Mr. Reeves had enjoyed more opportunities for culture than most of his colleagues. He was an ardent enthusiast for education and a socialist of sorts. Finally, Mr. Joseph George Ward was an energetic business man who had risen from small beginnings. A suave and dapper manner and appearance made him personally popular, while a facile mastery of the details of finance, little short of the Vogelian, enabled him to make even Colonial accounts picturesque and to tickle the ears of the groundlings even with Budgets.

The legislative programme with which Mr. Ballance appealed to the electors may be briefly sum-

marised as follows. He promised first and foremost to adhere to a strictly non-borrowing policy. This was popular in the reaction against the extravagance of the late Public Works Policy, to the collapse of which the commercial depression of the time was rightly or wrongly attributed. He promised a change in the incidence of taxation: The Property Tax was unpopular because it taxed improvements; it was now proposed to substitute a graduated Land and Income Tax. A "Land for Settlement" policy was to be vigorously pushed in response to the popular cry of "people on the land." Finally, Labour Laws of all sorts were to be passed to solve the difficulties in the relations of Labour and Capital which had become acute throughout the Colonies in the great maritime strike of 1890.

The endorsement of this programme by the constituencies in the general election was so emphatic as to leave no doubt as to the trend of popular opinion. We shall not attempt to analyse fully the causes of this change in opinion; some of them however may be briefly suggested. It was the fashion of the day for adherents of the old political party to attribute their reverse to the ferment and irritation left in the minds of the wage-earners by the quixotic maritime strike which had just ended—for them so disastrously. This, no doubt, contributed to the result; but it was only one of many causes; the strike is long since forgotten and the Progressives continue in power. The "Continuous" ministry was suspected of sympathising rather with the "squatter" in the country than with the artisan in the towns; the association of some of its leaders with banks and loan and land-speculating Companies had brought them into some discredit. On the other hand, Ed-

ward Bellamy's book had fascinated the uncritical imaginations of the artisan class; hard times had filled them with discontent. In a word the wage-earners in New Zealand were at once intelligent and educated; ambitious and discontented. "One man, one vote" had made them politically the equals of the wealthiest land-owner: they realised the power that had been put into their hands, and were determined to use it.

The New Parliament met on January 24th, 1890, and on the following day the Atkinson Ministry resigned and Mr. Ballance was called to office. Mr. Ballance himself became Premier and Colonial Treasurer; Mr. John Mackenzie, Minister of Lands and Agriculture; Mr. R. J. Seddon, Minister of Public Works, Mines and Defence; to Mr. W. P. Reeves fell the portfolio of Education and the charge of the Department of Labour, now for the first time set up; Mr. A. J. Cadman became Commissioner of Stamps and soon after Native Minister; Mr. J. G. Ward was a member of the Ministry at first without portfolio; Mr. James Carroll, a well-educated and completely Anglicised half-caste, was included in the Executive as "Native Member" to represent the Maori race; while Sir Patrick Buckley, with the portfolio of Colonial Secretary and Attorney-General, represented the Cabinet in the Upper Chamber. With but two changes of importance in its personnel, this Ministry has now ruled the colony for a period of ten years—an unusually long term for any ministry in the Australian Colonies. The first of these changes was the elevation of Mr. R. J. Seddon to the Premiership in 1893 consequent on the death of Mr. John Ballance; the second the resignation of Mr. W. P. Reeves consequent on his appointment to the

office of Agent-General for the Colony in London. The Ministry has successfully weathered the storms of three general elections,* and though in the '96–'99 Parliament the working majority of the Ministry was reduced to five or six, and the Opposition began to entertain hopes of a turn in the tide of public opinion, the elections of 1899 resulted in a triumph for the Progressives even more marked than the victory of 1890 which first called them to power. In the Upper Chamber, to which members are nominated by the Ministry of the day, the Ballance administration could at first count only on from four to six votes in a House of forty-six. But as nominations during the last nine years have naturally been from the ranks of the Progressive party, sides are now about evenly matched in the revisory branch of the legislature. As a result of the last general elections the old "Conservative" party has received its quietus; and he would be a daring prophet indeed who should profess to foretell with confidence the end of the New Democracy in New Zealand.

In one important particular the Seddon Ministry has deviated from the policy propounded by Mr. Ballance. The "Non-Borrowing" part of his programme has been abandoned; the public debt of the Colony has increased since the Progressives took office by over seven millions.† In other particulars, however, the Ministry may fairly claim to have carried into effect the programme of radical legislative reforms to which they pledged themselves. In the remaining pages of this chapter we propose to set out

* The strength of the Progressives in a House of 74 members was as follows in the four elections: 1890, 38; 1893, 50; 1896, 38; 1899, 52.

† Public Debt, March 31st, 1890, £38,667,950; 1899, £46,081,327.

briefly the salient features in the administration of the Progressive party and the chief legislative changes it has introduced. Two departments of its administration and legislation will however be more conveniently reserved for separate chapters: "The Agrarian Legislation and Lands Administration;" and the "Labour Laws," forming a distinct body of legislation which possesses many features of extra-colonial interest.

The Ballance Ministry was pledged, as we have stated, to change the incidence of direct taxation. The proportion of the annual revenue of the colony which is raised in this way (from 25 to 30 per cent of the whole) was, before 1892, obtained in the main from a Property Tax of one penny in the £ on all assessed real and personal property, with an exemption up to £500. The main objection urged against this fiscal system was that it taxed improvements and so discouraged settlement and enterprise. The people had demanded a taxation system which should effect certain social as well as revenue purposes: they wanted a "graduated tax" which should have the effect of penalising accumulation and, as the popular phrase expressed it, "bursting up" large estates; they wanted a tax moreover which should specifically encourage the improving land-occupier and as emphatically discourage the absentee land-speculator.

Accordingly in 1891 a "Land and Income Tax Assessment Act" was passed, and the new tax came into force the following year. As subsequently amended, the system is as follows. There is first of all an "Ordinary Land Tax" of one penny in the £ on the actual "prairie" value of land, all "improvements" whatever being exempt from liability. Any sum owing on a duly registered mortgage over

the land is also deducted—the mortgagee himself being subject to land tax. There is besides a "Graduated Land Tax" on all land whose unimproved value reaches £5,000. In addition to the one penny in the £ levied by the "ordinary tax" an additional one-eighth penny is levied when the value is between £5,000 and £10,000; and the rate increases by further steps of one-eighth penny in the £ till the maximum of 2d. in the £ is reached, payable when the value is £210,000. The Income Tax is 6d. in the £ on incomes up to £1000 and after that 1s. in the £. To encourage the "small man" there is, in the case of the Land Tax, an exemption of £500 when the taxable value does not exceed £1,500; after that a smaller exemption is granted till it ceases at £2,500; in the case of the Income Tax there is an exemption up to £300 per annum, and the same amount is deducted from all taxable incomes. To encourage thrift, any amount paid in Life Assurance premiums up to £50 is exempt from taxation. With a view to discourage "absentees" twenty per cent additional land tax is levied where the owner has been absent from the colony for three years or more before the assessment; while the £300 exemption under the Income Tax is disallowed in the case of all persons not domiciled in the Colony. The average amount of taxation from all sources levied per head of population in New Zealand is £3 13s. 11d—an amount higher than that in any of the Australian Colonies, with the exception of Western Australia.

Much opposition was naturally shown to this change in fiscal policy. But after seven years' experience of the measure, it must be admitted that the evil results predicted for it have not been verified. There has not been the shrinkage foretold

in revenue; the pastoral and agricultural interests have not been irretrievably ruined; and the "screw" has not yet been given that "extra turn" so vividly prophesied by opponents of the graduating principle. On the other hand, it is doubtful if the measure has in itself contributed largely to the "bursting up" of estates in the Colony.*

The extension of the Electoral Franchise to women was effected in 1893. Curiously enough, however, it was not the Progressive party, but the old "Conservatives" led by Sir John Hall who were chiefly responsible for this innovation. Many of the leading men among the Progressives were strongly opposed to the measure; and it was freely asserted that the Premier, Mr. Seddon, allowed the Bill finally to pass the Lower House only because he was confident it would be rejected in the Upper. That Chamber, however, to the surprise of every one, passed the Bill by the narrow majority of two on September 2nd, 1893. The "Conservative" advocates of the measure were popularly supposed to favour the Bill because they believed it would result in an accession of strength to their party; the Progressives who opposed it were similarly charged with fearing that it would result in their exclusion from office. Both statements contain, perhaps, a modicum of truth; but neither fairly and fully represents the position. The franchise was not conferred on women in New Zealand as the result of a political game clumsily played by political blunderers; the measure was

* The present writer must in fairness admit that he shared himself these gloomy forebodings · and criticised adversely both the taxation proposals and the Labour measures in the Ballance Programme, in a pamphlet "The Man and the State in New Zealand," Christchurch "*Press*" Company, 1891.

passed because it was considered a fair and logical act of justice. It is true the advocates of the measure if ardent were few; the great majority of the women of the colony were themselves indifferent to the agitation; but the case against women was not strong enough logically to rouse more than spasmodic opposition; and as far as the great body of public opinion was concerned, judgment went "by default."

The Act left our Electoral machinery where it was, with the single significant change of the word *man* to *person*. The qualifications for the exercise of the franchise became the same for both sexes.

Since the passing of the Act three elections have been held in the colony under Universal Suffrage. Taking the figures for the first two of these—the elections of 1893 and 1896 (those for 1899 are not available at the time of writing)—we find the following results. The proportion of males on the rolls who voted was 70 per cent in 1893 and 76 per cent in 1896; the proportion of females on the rolls who voted was respectively 85 and 76. Thus it is clear that of the women who register a larger proportion go to the poll than in the case of men. The actual numbers of women who registered their claims to vote were respectively 78 and 89 per cent of the estimated adult female population. However indifferent women may have been to the acquisition of the new privilege, it is evident they are not apathetic about the exercise of it. It is unfortunately impossible to compare these figures with the figures in the case of males. Statistics are proverbially infallible. But in 1896 we find that of the total estimated adult male population 99 and 96 per cent are on the rolls; while in 1893 the number of male names on the rolls actually exceeds the estimated

number of males in the Colony by fourteen thousand. Unless we conclude that in their enthusiasm for politics 14,000 "travellers returned" from beyond the bourne to exercise the privilege of citizenship, we must reluctantly acknowledge that even in New Zealand figures occasionally lie.

The experiment of allowing women an equal voice with men in the government of the country has now been in operation in New Zealand for seven years, and they have exercised their new-won privilege in three general elections. It should therefore be possible to form a fairly just estimate of their fitness for these duties. Political meteorology is, in New Zealand, a more than usually inexact science; and the forecasts of opponents and advocates of this reform have alike been falsified by events. Advocates claimed that it would strengthen the elements of stability and conservatism in politics; that it would elevate the tone of public opinion and lead to a higher moral standard being required of aspirants for parliamentary honours. Opponents declared that women did not want the franchise, and, if they obtained it, would not use it; and, with doubtful consistency, they roundly asserted that it would "unsex" them. Temperance enthusiasts believed it would lead to the victory of "Prohibition." Educational enthusiasts feared it would result in the breakdown of that system of secular education of which we are so proud and so tenacious. Yet not a single one of these predictions has so far been verified; results on the contrary point in the opposite direction. The radical vote at elections is stronger than ever; the tone of public opinion has not improved; and the personnel of our Parliament offers no evidence that women demand in the candidates they

vote for a higher moral standard than do men. Notorious profligacy and habitual drunkenness did not in the last election prove an insuperable obstacle to admission to Parliamentary life. An experienced politician who has sat for many years in our legislature, and who himself voted for the Women's Franchise Bill, recently expressed the opinion that "In point of ability, education, and, experience the present parliament has sadly declined, whilst the general tone of political life is much lower than it ever was before." * It is not intended to suggest that this is the result of the Women's Franchise, of course; it is advanced merely to show that the hopes built on the passing of the measure have, so far at least, not been fulfilled.

On the other hand, the franchise has not "unsexed" women. The women of New Zealand exhibit in the exercise of their political rights the same moderation and good sense that they display in other walks of life. Election day is marked everywhere by decent and decorous behaviour. As we have seen, women go to the polls at least as readily as men and there is no sign anywhere of the presence of "Shrieking sisterhoods" in our elections. A distinct diminution in hustings rowdyism has certainly shown itself; but this is probably due as much to the compulsory closing of drink-bars on election day as to anything else. "Prohibition," it is true, is steadily increasing its aggregate vote in most of the constituencies; but the veto has only been carried so far in one out of the sixty-two electoral districts in the Colony. The advocacy of "The Bible in Schools," which is popularly feared as the thin edge

* Hon. J. MacGregor, M.L.C., in the *National Review*, October, 1899.

of the wedge of Denominationalism in education, has within the last seven years disappeared from practical politics; so that upon this question, also, the women's vote has not had the anticipated influence. At the last general election scarcely a single candidate was found who would pledge himself to this change. Religion, in fact, plays no greater part in politics after than before the extension of the franchise to women. On the other hand, women in New Zealand, seem even more smitten than men with that pestilent political fallacy embodied in the popular maxim, "Measures, not men."

Though women have obtained the right to vote they have not yet established their right to be themselves elected; they are expressly excluded from both Houses of Parliament. This restriction may be expedient, but it is not easy to recognise its logic. It may be well that they should first gain some experience of politics as electors before they are allowed themselves to take an active part as the elect. But, since the learned professions of law, medicine, and journalism are open to women in New Zealand equally with men, it seems strangely inconsistent that politics, which is in this colony a lucrative, though not, perhaps, a learned profession, should be the only one barred against them.

In striking contrast to the perfervid energy with which New Zealanders throw themselves into general politics is their apathetic indifference to all matters municipal. While in our political institutions we are in many respects far in advance of older countries, in our municipal we are as distinctly behind them. The enlightened municipal spirit which is so marked a feature of life in England and America has not yet found an echo in the colony. Our

municipal institutions are dominated by the narrowest spirit of parochialism. Street lighting, street traction and water supply are left for the most part to private enterprise in a country where the Railway, Postal, and Telegraph services are nationalised, and where the government undertakes even the insurance of life and the administration of property. Sanitation is left to the whim of municipal caprice; street architecture and even fire-prevention are matters frequently left to take care of themselves; and the most important duty undertaken by Borough Councils in New Zealand seems to be the formation of exceedingly bad roads.

The present Government has recently passed an Act enabling local bodies to levy rates on unimproved values at the option of the majority of the ratepayers in the district; but the scope of the measure is neither understood nor appreciated. More recently the Municipal Franchise in towns has been extended. The right to vote in borough elections, formerly confined to ratepayers, has now * been conferred upon all occupiers, with the important safeguard, however, that on the question of raising loans, or the expenditure of loan moneys, ratepayers alone can vote. But there seems little disposition so far to take advantage of the new privilege; the registration of non-ratepayers under the new act has been extremely tardy. The Colony has yet to be awakened to the need of vigorous municipal life, and the extension of the municipal franchise has preceded by several years an active demand for it.

One of the first acts of the Ballance Administration was to set up a new State Department known

* Municipal Franchise Reform Act, 1898.

as the Department of Labour. The object of its existence is to collect and disseminate information and statistics on labour questions; to supervise and regulate the distribution of surplus labour in the various districts of the colony; and to provide state-employment for the unemployed. To effect these ends it issues a monthly "Journal of the Department of Labour;" and it has set up a Government Labour Bureau, a sort of State Registry Office, which has done much useful work in dealing with the unemployed difficulty, when it arises, by shifting surplus labour, at government expense, from congested districts to parts where labour is in greater demand.

But the most interesting of the experiments conducted by the New Department is the institution known as Co-operative Labour on Public Works. The main ends aimed at in this experiment were the exclusion of the "Middleman" in Public Works Contracts, and the providing of channels into which the Labour Bureau might turn the stream of surplus labour for which it has made itself paternally responsible. For whatever views politicians may hold on "the rights of man" in the abstract, both the present government and its predecessors have in practice admitted as one of them the Right to Employment. The system of letting out public works by tender to contractors had many disadvantages. It was probably, on the whole, sound and economical in a business point of view; but in spite of "Truck Acts" and "Workmen's Lien Acts" sub-contractors frequently "sweated" the men and occasionally bilked them. The letting of a large public contract in a district resulted not seldom in the congestion of the labour market there; the contractor made a competency, and the surplus labourers became a burden

on public charity. Under the Co-operative System the work is let directly to the men; they are paid only for work actually done by them; and their emoluments depend solely on their individual skill and energy. The proverbial "government stroke," as in popular parlance we describe the half-hearted labour of the State-employé, is not seen on a Co-operative Contract. In proportion to the workman's industry is his pay; he is himself contractor as well as labourer, and his toil acquires a new dignity in his eyes.

The system was first introduced on road and railway works; and its operation may be best explained by taking a railway contract as a typical illustration. The government engineer divides the "formation" into lengths proportioned to the difficulty of the "country"; he then "measures up" the amount of excavation and filling to be done on a given length and prepares a set of simple specifications. He assesses the price of the work, basing his figures on the average rate of wages current in the district, with a small percentage added to represent in some measure the profits a contractor would make in the ordinary way. These specifications and calculations of cost, when approved by the engineer in chief, form the basis of a contract. A voluntary association of labourers, seldom exceeding ten or twelve in number, and probably averaging six, then undertake the job. They elect a "head man" to represent them in their dealings with the government. The department supplies trucks, rails, barrows and expensive plant generally; the men themselves find picks and shovels, and, where necessary, hire horses and drays from settlers in the vicinity. The prices assessed by the engineers are not binding on either

party; they are mere estimates. Work actually done is paid for; and this is measured once a month. The engineer's report shows the number of men employed, days and hours worked by each, and net wages earned. If the engineer finds that satisfactory progress is not being made, he has it in his power to draft additional men into the party, to weed out sluggards and incapables, and, if he think necessary, to terminate the contract. In selecting men for the works the Labour Bureau gives preference to married men over single, to residents in the district over non-residents, and to men not previously employed on government works over men who have recently been on a contract.*

The system has gradually been extended to skilled trades; the building of timber bridges, plate-laying, and even the erection of public buildings such as the Parliamentary Library in Wellington have been carried out on Co-operative principles. Sometimes as many as 2000 to 3000 men are employed in this way; in prosperous seasons, when the surplus labour difficulty does not present itself, the number is considerably less.

The system, as might be expected, is severely criticised by individualists who are sceptical of the qualifications of the State as an industrial employer. Its success will evidently largely depend on the judgment and probity of the men selected as government engineers; and there is ground for believing that the wages earned on Co-operative contracts have occasionally been absurdly high and the work, accordingly, exceedingly costly to the State. The whole system might easily be prostituted to political ends

* "The Co-operative System of Constructing Public Works," by H. J. H. Blow, Under-Secretary for Public Works.

by swamping doubtful electorates with co-operative labourers three months before a general election and so enabling a body of men who would regard themselves as practically government pensioners to register in the constituency. That the opportunity exists for this form of political corruption is undoubtedly a real danger in the system. But it would be rash to assert, on no better evidence than the speeches of party politicians, that the opportunity has been made use of. The large majorities by which the Progressive party have been repeatedly returned to power should, at least so far, have saved them from temptation.

The years 1891–95 were prolific in experimental legislation, and the Statute Book of the colony "swelled visibly." Then came three lean years. In the last session of its third Parliament, however, the Seddon Ministry, with an election presently to be faced, again bestirred itself and succeeded in passing an Act of great local moment and of considerable interest also to students of social problems outside the colony—the Old Age Pension Act.

The movement in favour of an old age pension system is of very recent origin in the colony. Except in the occasional speech of a doctrinaire socialist, it was practically unheard of before 1895. In 1896 it first came before Parliament in the shape of an exceedingly crude bill. This was killed in Committee by an amendment in favour of a universal pension. In 1897, after a general election, the Bill re-appeared in an amended form; it passed the Lower but was rejected by the Upper Chamber. In 1898 the Government again brought down a bill; again it was a crude and ill-digested measure; but thanks to the united efforts of opponents and advo-

cates alike, who debated the Bill through a Continuous Committee sitting of ninety hours, the Bill finally passed the Lower House; in the Upper Chamber it had this time a comparatively easy passage, the Speaker having ruled that it was a money Bill and so could not be amended. Thus, within the short space of three years from the first appearance of the question in practical politics, this important measure, which commits the colony to a new and far-reaching social principle, was placed on the Statute Book. In England such a law would have been preceded by ten, perhaps by twenty years, of debate, popular and academic, inside and outside Parliament. In young New Zealand we are in such matters more expeditious, or—shall we say?—more rash. It is certain that we legislate in haste; but our prosperity has so far, happily, denied us leisure to repent.

The Act is, in its present shape, purely experimental; and as such it must be regarded. It remains in force only till the close of the second session of the present Parliament, that is, till the middle of 1900. The whole question must then be reconsidered; and Parliament, with three years' experience of the working of the measure, will have to decide whether it will alter, continue or repeal the Act. But as the people of the colony have in the elections of 1899—indeed since the Bill came into operation—expressed their emphatic approval of the principle, it is safe to assert that an old age Pension Law, in some form, has come to stay.

The Act provides for the payment of a pension of £18 a year to every New Zealander who has reached the age of sixty-five, and can prove that he conforms to certain conditions as to residence in the colony,

financial position, and moral character. As to the first, he must have resided in the colony for a period of 25 years. No alien, however long resident, no foreigner unless naturalised for five years, and no Chinese or Asiatics under any circumstances, are entitled. As to the second point, the applicant must prove that his yearly income, from whatever source, does not exceed £34, in order to entitle him to a full pension, and that it does not exceed £52 to entitle him to any fraction of a pension. For every pound of income between £34 and £52, one pound is deducted from the full pension of £18. As to accumulated property he may own up to £50—after deducting debts—and yet be entitled to a full pension. For every £15 above £50 the sum of one pound is deducted from the pension; so that when the property reaches an assessed value of £325 he becomes disentitled altogether. Men and women are equally entitled, and where a man and wife are living together their property or income is divided by two for the purpose of the assessment above mentioned. Thus they may have an income of £68 or a property worth £650 and yet draw £36 per annum from the State. A bachelor of 65, for example, with this income or amount of property has no claim on the State; if, however, he marry a penniless spinster of the same age she virtually brings him a dowry of £36 per annum. This encouragement of sexagenarian matrimony was possibly not present to the minds of the framers of the Bill.

As to the third point—the moral character of the applicant—the following restrictions are contained in the Act. Imprisonment for 4 months within 12 years preceding, or for 5 years within 25 years preceding, for any offence "dishonouring him in the

public estimation," will exclude an applicant. Deserting husband or wife for six months is equally a bar: and the applicant must prove that he is of good character and has for five years preceding been leading "a sober and respectable life." It cannot be pretended that these rough and ready restrictions will enable the State to decide between the deserving and the undeserving poor; much fraud will probably creep into the administration of the Act; and it will not be possible to discriminate between poverty due to thriftless idleness, and poverty the result of unmerited misfortune. But the restrictions represent at least a crude attempt in this direction and are at least a guarantee that the pension will not be conferred on criminals, habitual drunkards or wife-deserters.

No pension system, short of a universal scheme that confers its benefits without enquiry as to the means of the recipients, can avoid altogether inflicting a stigma on pensioners. The present pension Bill is really only a new form of Poor Law; and the conditions attached to receiving the pension will, by many, be considered degrading. An applicant for a pension Certificate, if his claim is contested, has to vindicate it in a police magistrate's court, and there is nothing to prevent newspapers from giving his case as much publicity as if he were charged with criminal conduct. At present the Act is in great favour with the aged poor; still more perhaps with their children and relatives who are relieved to the extent of the pension from the filial duty of supporting them; but it is easy to conceive that in time as strong a prejudice may grow up against the publicity attached to the grant of a pension as exists already in regard to other forms of charitable aid.

So far, the scheme is a financial leap in the dark;* no special provision has been made for raising the money required and the pensions are to be paid out of the ordinary consolidated revenue. Till special funds are ear-marked for the pension system it will be a recurrent bone of contention in every financial debate in Parliament, and its continuance might easily be jeopardised by an acute financial crisis. On the other hand it cannot be said that the alternative schemes proposed by opponents of this Bill are free from objection. A Universal Pension presents financial difficulties that are well-nigh insuperable; and the various contributory schemes proposed are too cumbersome to be likely to gain in favour. The practical tests of success that must ultimately be applied to the present scheme are: To what extent has it lightened the expenditure on charitable aid? And with what success have its administrators excluded fraud and imposture? The political economist's objection that the Bill will discourage thrift and self-reliance need not be seriously regarded with the pension at its present low figure. "Thrift," in the case of a man who has to support a wife and bring up a family on thirty shillings a week in this colony, is perilously near passing from a virtue into a vice; for saving in such circumstances can only be effected at the expense of the children's future. It is probably safe to say that "with a large class of the poor, the prospect of this pension will, in truth, be a very strong inducement to lay by a fair sum, or to continue even after sixty-five, to earn some slight

* The Act came into force Nov. 1st. 1898. Up till Mar. 31st. 1899, the number of pensions granted was 7487, involving yearly £128,082.

wage which, supplementing their state allowance, will ensure them a reasonable measure of comfort in the last years of life." *

* Mr. W. P. Reeves, *National Review*, Feb., 1899.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LABOUR LAWS OF NEW ZEALAND.

"PLEASE govern me as little as possible" expressed the political creed of Lord Brougham. "Please govern me as *much* as possible" expresses as truly the political creed of the average New Zealander. The majority of the electors of the Colony have an unshaken faith in the efficacy of Acts of Parliament. Any session which does not witness a substantial addition to the bulk of the colony's Statutes is popularly regarded as a wasted opportunity. We employ seventy-four representatives at a salary of £20 a month to make laws for us; and it is their business to do it: that represents, without exaggeration, the point of view of a great body of electors in the Colony.

During the last few years in particular a large number of acts have been passed, the effect of which is to subject every department of our industrial life to elaborate regulation and control. Some of them are no doubt crude and anomalous; others contain features that lend colour to the description of them as "Class legislation." The Individualist will condemn them all; the enlightened Socialist will disapprove of many of them. But, on the whole, they represent an honest effort to ameliorate the conditions of the manual workers; and though in New Zealand there was not any acute social oppression of

workers to call forth these laws, their existence is justified by their aim of "preventing the installation of abuses before such abuses attain formidable dimensions." It must be remembered, too, that though, in their inception, some of these laws may be described as "class-legislation," before being finally passed they were in the Lower House subjected to criticism and amended by an able and vigorous, if numerically small, opposition; while in the Upper Chamber they had to run the gauntlet of an extremely hostile majority. They represent in most instances, therefore, the result of compromise.

The whole body of Labour Laws in New Zealand is comprised in some fifteen principal enactments. In many cases they are practically identical with laws in force in the United Kingdom; in some important particulars, however, they present new features, and are in advance of such legislation elsewhere. For the purposes of brief description the enactments in these different laws group themselves conveniently under the following topics:—

(a) Sanitation and the Regulation of Factories and Shops.
(b) Hours of Labour and Holidays.
(c) Protection of Women and Children.
(d) Compensation for Accidents.
(e) Protection of Workmen's Earnings.
(f) Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration.

The Government has issued for the convenience of workers and employers a brief, lucid, and cheap digest, "The Handbook of the Labour Laws of New Zealand"; and of this, in addition to consulting the Statutes themselves, we have availed ourselves largely in the following exposition:—

THE REGULATION OF FACTORIES AND SHOPS.

Every factory or workshop in the Colony must be registered and a certificate of such registration applied for and obtained in January of each year. The application for registration must set out a complete plan of the premises, must specify the work carried on, and the motive power employed. The Inspectors who are empowered to issue such certificates have authority also to enter, at any reasonable hour of day or night, any factory or workshop—that is to say, any place where two or more people are employed in industrial occupations or where machinery is used. The Inspector may call for and examine records showing the names of persons employed in the factory, their ages, if under twenty, their hours of employment and holidays, and their earnings. He is also empowered to examine any one employed in the factory and question him as to the occupier's compliance with the Act. If any work is done outside the factory, records of such work must be kept and the remuneration specified; and any article so made must not be exposed for sale unless labelled with a printed ticket setting forth that it was made in Number so and so, Street so and so, in a private dwelling or unregistered workshop.

Elaborate provisions are made to ensure good sanitation. The number of cubic feet to be allotted each worker is specified: 250 cubic feet in a day workroom, 400 feet in a night workroom. The arrangements for ventilation must be approved by the inspector; the walls must be lime-washed every fourteen months, or, if painted or varnished, washed with hot water and soap at similar intervals—certain reasonable exceptions, foundries, flour-mills, etc.—

being made to this rule. Rooms in which meals can be taken are to be provided; fresh drinking water is to be furnished; and proper fire-escapes and means of egress are insisted upon. In the case of noxious trades more drastic regulations are laid down for cleanliness and ventilation. No sleeping place must be on a level with a bakehouse or form part of the same building; nor will any bakehouse be approved unless drain and sewage and water arrangements are satisfactory.* A special Act † empowers the Inspector to enter and examine shearing sheds where more than six men are employed. "Proper and efficient sleeping accommodation" must be provided—in this case 240 cubic feet of space for each shearer sleeping in any room; and if Chinese shearers are employed they must be housed in a separate building. Shops in towns and boroughs are also subject to supervision and similar sanitary arrangements are enjoined. All Assistants must be allowed not less than one hour for dinner. The sanitary regulations in these Acts cannot in any case be called unreasonable. Some irritation is felt by employers at the elaborate records they are required to keep and the formidable returns they have from time to time to send in. But printed forms are supplied for these; and as employers get used to these formalities, their irksomeness will no doubt wear off. The smooth working of the Acts will naturally depend on the tact of the Inspectors. At the present time there are 164 of these under the Factory Act alone; some of them have qualified for the position by attaining prominence as labour agitators which

* Factories' Act, 1894.
† Shearers' Accommodation Act, 1898.
‡ Shops and Shop Assistants' Act, 1894.

naturally does not make them *personæ gratæ* to employers. The penalties for the numerous breaches an employer may commit vary from a maximum of £5 to £10 for a first, and £50 for a subsequent offence. Judging from the diminishing number of prosecutions under these clauses it is just to infer that they operate without undue irritation.

HOURS OF LABOUR AND HOLIDAYS.

In the multiplicity of acts in New Zealand regulating employment there is curiously enough no law of general application limiting the hours of labour. A "legal eight-hours day" is occasionally demanded by sections of the wage-earners; but the demand is not earnestly pressed for the sufficient reason that the eight-hours day is, and has long since been, established by custom, in all trades where its institution is practicable. In many trades, indeed, 42 hours per week, not 48, is the rule, the Saturday afternoon being left free. A Bill making Eight Hours a day compulsory by law has several times been before Parliament; but it has failed to pass because the Government has refused to make the law applicable to the various kinds of State-workshops. It is a constant ground of complaint by employers that the State in New Zealand carefully exempts itself from the operation of its own drastic enactments.

The Hours of Labour are, however, limited by law in certain special cases. In factories no woman or boy under 16 may be employed for more than 48 hours in any one week. In shops no woman or person under 18 years of age may be employed for more than 52 hours in any one week. Half-holidays are

also compulsory in certain callings. In factories no woman or person under eighteen years may be employed on Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter Monday or the Sovereign's Birthday; nor may they be employed on any Saturday after one o'clock, and wages at the ordinary rates must be paid them on these holidays. The Shop and Shop Assistants Act makes a weekly half-holiday compulsory in all shops. In cities and boroughs shops must be closed from the hour of 1 P.M. on at least one day in the week; the "local authority" being empowered to fix, in January of each year, the particular day of the week to be observed.

Certain classes of shops, such as chemists, fruiterers and eating-house keepers are exempt, but assistants in these, as well as assistants in country-shops and in all hotel bars, must have a half-holiday on some day in the week. Small shops kept by Europeans who employ no assistants outside their family, are allowed to close on a half-day other than that fixed by the local authority. In offices the closing hours are fixed at 5 P.M. on ordinary days; and at 1 P.M. on Saturdays. Certain reasonable exemptions are made to all these provisions. The offices of evening newspapers; fish-preserving factories in the fishing season; implement dealers during harvest time; ship-chandlers in a seaport; banks and offices at half-yearly balance-time are all subjects of necessary exemptions.

The Act has been in force some six years and practically all signs of friction and irritation have disappeared; no one at least seriously proposes its repeal. The majority of business people are probably ready to admit now that the volume of their trade has not been diminished; and if complaint is still

occasionally heard it is from the small suburban shop-keeper. Some inconvenience is caused by the fact that the Factory Half-holiday and the Shop Half-holiday fall on different days; for few or no "local authorities" have as yet selected Saturday as the day for closing shops. In some towns Wednesday, in the majority, Thursday is that chosen; while factories, banks, warehouses and offices generally close on Saturday. This often leads to inconvenience, as may be imagined, both from a business and a family point of view; and it seems probable that ultimately Saturday will become the legal half-holiday in all callings. There is perhaps no other among the labour enactments that has conferred such obvious benefit, with so little injury and so little friction, as these clauses which have added half a day a week to the leisure of the community.

PROTECTION OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

The lives, health and comfort of women and children are guarded with exceptional jealousy in the Labour Laws. No child under the age of 14 may be employed in any factory, mine, or about machinery. Children between the ages of 14 and 16 may be employed in certain trades, but only on production of evidence that they have passed the examination, or an equivalent, prescribed for the Fourth Standard in our Education Act; and on the production of a Factory Inspector's Certificate that they are fit for such employment. Persons of either sex between the ages of 14 and 18 are further restricted from employment in specified trades: silvering mirrors or making white lead, melting glass, making or finishing bricks or tiles, dry grinding,

dipping lucifer matches, wet spinning; and a few other trades regarded as specially noxious. No woman or person under sixteen may be employed in any factory for more than 48 hours a week, or at any time between six in the evening and eight in the morning. They can only work overtime under stringent restrictions and subject to an Inspector's approval; and they may not be required to work for more than four and a half hours without half an hour's interval for meals. Women and children may not take their meals in a workroom; and, where more than six are employed, a room with sufficient tables and seating accommodation must be provided for them to take their meals in. In shops, sitting accommodation must be provided for female assistants and reasonable use of it permitted. No woman may be employed in a factory for four weeks after a confinement.

In "mines" there are further restrictions. No female of any age may be employed in or about a mine except in a clerical capacity. No boy under 14 may be employed; and a boy under 18 must not be employed as lander or braceman over a shaft; in the use of explosives; or in charge of any engine, windlass or gin.

COMPENSATION FOR ACCIDENTS.

New Zealanders pride themselves, and for the most part with justice, on the "advanced" character of labour legislation in the Colony; but in the matter of employers' liability for accidents the law has not yet proceeded as far as in Germany; and in some respects it still lags behind English legislation on the subject as embodied in the "Workman's Com-

pensation Act, 1897." The New Zealand "Employers' Liability Act" is modelled upon the English Statute of the same title; though some of its clauses are identical with part of the "Workman's Compensation Act."

In this Colony, when personal injury is suffered, a workman, or, in case of his death from the injury, his personal representative, has the same remedy for compensation against his employer, as if he had not been in the service of that employer or employed in his work. But the employer's liability is limited to cases where the injury was caused by reason of defective plant or machinery, or by the negligence of any person in the employ who had authority over the workman; or because of improper or defective rules or instructions under which the work was carried out. The workman loses his right of action if he knew of the negligence or defect and did not give information of it; or if the injury arose from his own negligence. "Negligence" and "Contributory Negligence," which have so often disappointed the just hopes of injured workmen, thus continue bones of litigious contention in this branch of law. Under the English "Workman's Compensation Act," on the other hand, the employer's liability to pay is wholly irrespective of personal delinquency and negligence, so long the genius of this branch of the law. Employers are liable for *all* accidents; and contributory negligence does not disentitle the workman to recover unless serious and wilful misconduct on his part is proved. The necessity for notice within six weeks, swept away by the English Act, is also retained in New Zealand.

In some points, however, the New Zealand workman is in the same favourable position as his Eng-

lish brother. The doctrine of "Common Employment" has been abolished here; he may recover for injury sustained through the fault of an irresponsible fellow-workman. "Contracting out" is also forbidden; any agreement entered into by a workman binding himself or his personal representatives not to claim is null and void. And, as in England, an employer is liable for injuries sustained by men in the employ of a contractor or sub-contractor; but in this case only when his negligence is proved. As to the amount of compensation receivable, it is limited to three years' wages, and may not in any case exceed £500. But weekly compensation for the injured man is not provided for as in England, where it may continue for years and reach as high as £1000.

In view of the cumbersome litigation which so frequently arises from the recognition of the doctrine of "Negligence" and the bogey of "Costs," which so often stands between the workman and justice, it is to be hoped the law in New Zealand will ultimately be brought into line with the English Act.

Experience of the working of the Act in England will doubtless lead in time to the evolution of a satisfactory scheme of insurance; which will ultimately have the effect of throwing the employer's increased liability on cost of production and so, by distributing the burden, lighten its weight. The facility with which the Workman's Compensation Act, introduced by the Conservatives, passed both Houses of Parliament in England, and the general support it met with from men of all shades of political opinion, renders it at least probable that this far-reaching boon will in New Zealand, also, at no dis-

tant date be conferred upon "the wounded soldiers of industry."

PROTECTION OF WORKMEN'S WAGES.

The earnings of a workman form the subject of a large number of Acts of which the necessity is less apparent and the benefits less obvious than is the case with most of the other labour Statutes. The "Truck Act," 1891, forbids the payment of wages in goods or otherwise than in money. In any contract with a workman wages are payable in money only; any clause providing that part of the wages shall be paid in goods or otherwise than in money is null and void; and an employer may not sue for the value of goods supplied to a workman at any shop or store belonging *in any degree* to him; nor may he, in a claim for wages against him, plead any counter-claim or set-off. Some exemptions are permitted under the Act: An employer may supply medical aid; may allow the use of a tenement as part of wages; may supply cooked victuals or non-intoxicating drinks to be consumed under his roof; or may advance moneys to enable a workman to pay life assurance or friendly society premiums. But these exemptions do not apply to any contracts under the Government, a local authority, or for the purposes of railway or road formation. The Act does not apply to agricultural or pastoral pursuits. The "Workman's Wages Act," 1893, makes wages due to workmen a first charge upon moneys due to a contractor. Wages are to be paid to a workman at intervals of not more than one week; when the wages are eight clear days in arrear a workman may

serve the employer of the contractor with "Notice of Attachment" of all moneys due to him by the contractor, and the employer must retain such moneys till the claim is heard in Court. Such notice of attachment of wages has priority over any other claim; the employer is not liable for more than the sum due under the contract, but he cannot set-off moneys paid to the contractor in advance. "The Contractor's and Workman's Lien Act," 1892, provides that a contractor, or a sub-contractor, or workman who does any work in connection with land, buildings or a chattel is entitled to a lien upon the whole interest of the employer in that land, building or chattel. A contractor's lien does not exceed the amount due to him at the time upon the contract; and a workman's lien does not exceed thirty days' earnings. Due notice must be given, and in the case of land the lien must be duly registered. When these provisions are complied with the liens have priority in the following order: (1) The liens of workmen for wages; (2) The liens of sub-contractors; (3) The liens of contractors.

The "Wages Attachment Act," 1895, secures the wages of a workman up to £2 a week from attachment for debt. In the case of the bankruptcy of an employer the wages of clerks up to £100 and of workmen up to £50 are preferential claims. Boys or girls under 18 years of age may not be employed in any factory unless paid a minimum wage of 5s. per week for boys and 4s. a week for girls; and for such boys or girls premiums may not be taken or received. "The Servant's Registry Office Act" provides for the registration of all such offices; prescribes the maximum scale of fees that may be charged for procuring situations; and forbids any registry office

keeper from conducting or being interested in any lodging-house for servants.

In this department of legislation there seems good ground for the criticism that zeal has outstripped discretion. It is open to grave doubt whether the avoidance of the evils sought to be remedied is not more than counterbalanced by the interference with freedom of contract; the restriction of a workman's credit; and the increased difficulty of procuring employment for his children or getting them taught skilled trades.

INDUSTRIAL CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

By far the most interesting, as it is the most novel, of our legislative experiments is the attempt that has been made to substitute for the crude arbitrament of the strike and the lock-out an ordered and legally regulated system of conciliation and arbitration. It may be described as an effort to provide a method of voluntary conciliation, with a system of compulsory arbitration in the background. The author of the act was the Hon. W. P. Reeves; to his ardent advocacy the measure owes its place on our statute-book; and to his constructive ability it chiefly owes those features which make it in many ways an admirable, though far from a perfect, piece of legislation. His chief aim in the measure was to do away with the recurrence of strikes and lock-outs and their attendant evils; he hoped this aim would be attained in the great majority of instances by the machinery for conciliation provided in the bill; and that the system of compulsory arbitration which he deemed its necessary complement would be called into requisition only as a last resource. We shall

endeavour to show how he proposed to effect this aim by giving a brief outline of the salient features of the bill; and shall then endeavour to examine how far his aims have been attained by discussing the actual results.

The law, which came into force in 1894, is significantly entitled "An Act to encourage the formation of industrial unions and associations, and to facilitate the settlement of industrial disputes by conciliation and arbitration."

It provides in the first place for the constitution and registration of "Industrial Unions"—societies of not less than five persons, lawfully associated for the purpose of protecting or furthering the interests of workmen and employers. Any such society, whether a trade union or an employers' association, which conforms to the requirements of the Act in its rules and objects, becomes by registration a body corporate with power to own land, sue and be sued; and becomes subject, as do its individual members, to the jurisdiction given to Boards of Conciliation and the Court of Arbitration by the Act. A combination of any number of "industrial unions" may be registered as an "Industrial Association."

The Act further provides a form for drawing up "industrial agreements" between trade-unions, industrial unions, and employers, for a term not exceeding three years. These may provide "for any matter affecting any industrial matter"—a vague clause explained to mean, amongst other things, questions of wages, hours of employment, the age, sex, and qualifications of workers, apprentices, and any "custom" or "usage" in an industry. Such agreement is binding on the parties to it, on every person who is a member of any union party thereto,

and on every individual employer who may signify to the Registrar of the Court where it is filed his concurrence therein.

The Colony is then divided into six "industrial districts," in each of which is set up a "Board of Conciliation," consisting of four members and a chairman. The four members are elected, two and two, by registered unions of workmen and employers respectively; and the four thus elected must "choose some impartial person outside their own number" as chairman. The Board holds office for three years and has jurisdiction for the settlement of disputes that may be brought before it by the terms of an "industrial agreement," or by an application lodged by a registered union (in pursuance of a majority resolution), or by an individual employer. Of disputes between individual or unorganised workmen and an employer the Act takes no cognisance. The Board must then proceed to hear the evidence adduced by the party bringing the dispute or by such of the other parties as choose to appear. It has all the power of a Court to call and examine witnesses; but is not bound by legal rules as to evidence and procedure. A union may be represented by its chairman or by members not exceeding three, appointed by its chairman; but counsel must not be employed except with the consent of all the parties. The Board, having taken such steps as it deems necessary to arrive at the truth, proceeds "to decide the question according to the merits and substantial justice of the case, and makes its report or recommendation in writing, delivered to the clerk." Should all the parties intimate that they accept the recommendation or report, it is put into the form of an "Industrial agreement" binding for a specified term not exceed-

ing three years. The agreement is then filed in the Supreme Court, and any breach of it is punishable by a penalty not exceeding such amount as is fixed by the agreement, and where no amount is fixed, then not exceeding £500. Should the parties, however, not thus agree to accept the recommendation of the Board of Conciliation the matter is carried before the Arbitration Court.

There is one peripatetic Court of Arbitration for the whole Colony, which sits in different districts as occasion requires. It consists of three members, one appointed on the nomination of employers' unions, one on the nomination of workmen's unions, and one, the president, appointed by the Governor in Council. The president must be a judge of the Supreme Court. The Court has jurisdiction over any dispute referred to it by a Board, or by an industrial agreement. Thus a trade union by declining the terms of a Board of Conciliation award can force all the employers of the district in that particular trade into the Court of Arbitration, and can demand a decision of the Court on "any matter affecting any industrial matter." As in the cases before Boards of Conciliation, parties may be represented by members or agents, but not by counsel, except with the consent of all parties. The Court may permit other parties, having a common interest in the matter, to be joined; may compel the attendance of witnesses and receive evidence, whether strictly legal or not, on oath. It may refer any point to a Board or to experts to report; may dismiss any matter as trivial or frivolous and award costs against the party bringing it. A majority of members present in the Court may decide the question. The award must be framed so as to express the decision

clearly and must avoid technicalities, if possible, must state clearly what each party is or is not to do under it, and may provide for the payment of costs. The Court may in its award, or during its currency, determine what constitutes a breach, and what sum, not exceeding £500, shall be the penalty. The award is absolutely final and no appeal lies to any other Court on any account whatever.

The award must specify each union or person on whom it is intended to be binding; and it remains in force for a period specified, but not exceeding two years. So far as the award directs the payment of money it is deemed to be an order of the Court, and is enforced accordingly; and where any party commits a breach, any other party may apply to the Court for the enforcement of the award.

The Act came into force in 1894, and has thus been in operation only for a few years. For the first two years it remained practically a dead letter: Unions of workmen were tardy in registering; unions of employers hardly registered at all; and neither the Boards of Conciliation nor the Arbitration Court were brought into requisition. The first dispute adjudicated upon came before a Conciliation Board in September, 1896. Since that time, however, there has been no lack of "disputes," the total to the end of 1899 being 62, and the year 1900 has so far been exceptionally prolific.

The primary aim of the measure is the prevention of "strikes" and "lock-outs." The author of it, the Hon. W. P. Reeves, claims that, judged by this test, it has "met with a remarkable measure of success." "Of strikes by Trade Unions there have been none and there should be none so long as the Act can be made to work." "The reviving prosper-

ity of the Colony during the last three years has led the Trade Unions to make use of the Act. In place of striking on a rising market, as they do in other countries, they have gone to arbitration." * This evidence, however, has only a negative value. It is true that in the three and a half years since September, 1896, when the Act was first brought into effective use, there have been no strikes. But in the seven years preceding this date there were not any strikes of importance either. The disastrous lessons of the Maritime Strike in 1889 may therefore fairly claim their share of credit for this ten years' immunity from labour warfare. As to lock-outs, it may fairly be expected that none of these will occur "so long as the Act can be made to work." To prevent a lock-out a union, the moment a cause of disagreement presents itself, has but to lodge a "dispute" with the Clerk of Awards, and from that moment the employer is forbidden by the Act to dismiss or lock-out his men, unless he can prove that his doing so had no connection with the dispute pending. This may appear to some a startling provision which public opinion would never sanction. Yet it was given legal effect to in a colliery dispute. An employer dismissed three members of a union pending the dispute. He admitted the dismissal but denied that it was in consequence of the dispute. The Court compelled him to reinstate the men and to pay their damages amounting to £56—the wages they would have earned in the interval between dismissal and reinstatement. Liable to penalties up to £500, to attachment, and in the last resort to imprisonment for breach, it is highly improbable that

* *The Long White Cloud*, 1898, p. 390.

any employer will have the temerity to order a lock-out "so long as the Act can be made to work." As to the probable prevention of strikes one does not feel so sanguine. It is true, "an employer has but to lodge a 'dispute' and the men are bound to continue to work till the dispute is ended." * But how *bound?* The property of the Union is liable to attachment and members are individually liable up to £10, if they disobey. But the chances are the Union has scarcely any funds; and the remedy against individual workmen is for obvious reasons "purely illusory."

Among members of trades unions the Act is naturally an extremely popular measure. It has conferred upon them very substantial advantages: the awards made have frequently fixed considerably increased rates of wages; in some cases more favourable schedules of piece-work prices have been drawn up; and several decisions have limited a "minimum wage." In a large number of the awards employers have been commanded to give preference to union men; in most of the others they have been forbidden to discriminate either in pay or selection between unionists and non-unionists.

Employers opposed to it at first a passive resistance. They were tardy in forming and registering industrial unions, they neglected to avail themselves of their right to elect representatives on the Conciliation Boards or to nominate a member of the Arbitration Court; and up to December, 1899, no employer or association of employers had invoked the Act, the initiative in each of the 62 disputes up to that time heard having been taken by unions. Employers, however, recognising that the Act has, "in

* Hon. Mr. Rigg, M.L.C., *Hansard*, Nov. 3rd, 1898.

some form or other, come to stay, are gradually modifying this attitude. They show more inclination to avail themselves of the privilege of election of members of Conciliation Boards; and there is good ground for believing that in the course of another year or two they will be found as ready as are unionists to avail themselves of the Act in the protection of their interests.

The "machinery" of the bill is in many ways open to criticism; and in some directions amendment has been found necessary. The Boards of Conciliation are not so constituted as to command respect. The provision by which employers' and workmen's unions select two members each does not in practice result in a tribunal which represents a compromise, but in a body divided on party lines, two and two, with a chairman to steady as well as he can the oscillating scales of justice. The members chosen by the unions are for the most part men who have been ardent unionist champions and even ringleaders of strikes. Either they have no knowledge of trade intricacies and technicalities; or where their own particular trade happens to come before them in a dispute they are partisan experts rather than judges. Much the same objections apply to the constitution of the Court of Arbitration. Two of its members are, by the very mode of their nomination, party men. The president is a Supreme Court judge, a barrister with all the conservative devotion of a legal mind to form and precedent, called to decide intricate technical questions on evidence which may be "strictly legal" or not, in a court whose procedure is "not to be fettered by precedence," and to embody his decisions in "awards which must avoid technicalities."

The severest, as it is perhaps the ablest, criticism of the Act is from the pen of a late member of the Upper House, who was called to that chamber on the nomination of the Progressive Ministry, and may therefore not unfairly be deemed an impartial critic of their measures. The two main counts in his indictment against the measure are that the Act is being "ridden to death by the trade unions," who have converted it into an instrument of coercion, and that "the existence in the background of a compulsory Court of Arbitration has not tended to promote conciliation, but, on the contrary, the Conciliation Boards have proved merely a costly and useless appendage." *

As to the first, the author of the bill himself is constrained to admit that the unions "have shown a tendency to make too frequent use of the Act" and that their officials "would do well to be more brief and business-like in their conduct of cases." A tendency to manufacture disputes has no doubt shown itself, and the suggestion that they foment disputes with a view to the fees receives some colour from recent cases. Many of the complaints brought have been frivolous or trivial; in other cases the executive which manages the concerns of a union have lodged a "dispute," and the first intimation the workers had of a difference between them and their employers was through the newspapers; while in three cases, where it was sought to have employers in the baking trade imprisoned for trumpery breaches of an award, the action of the unions was undoubtedly ill-advised. But it must be remembered that the Court has power to dismiss a "trivial" or "frivolous"

* The Hon. J. MacGregor, M.L.C., in the *National Review*, October, 1892.

complaint with costs against the complainant—a power that will soon prove a salutary check on excessive unionist zeal; while an amending act now forbids the executive of a union from lodging a dispute, unless instructed to do so by a majority of members present at a special meeting of the whole union. Though unionists have not resisted the temptation to use the act for the advantage of their own corporate interests, it must be admitted that where they have invoked the Arbitration Court the results have proved their judgment; for in nearly the whole of the 62 cases brought up to December, 1899, the Court decided strongly in favour of the unionist claims; while in one only did the award go against them. Nor, so far as we can ascertain, have any important awards been given against them since.

As to the second point—the break-down of the conciliation clauses of the act—the most enthusiastic supporters of the measure must here acknowledge failure. "I do not think," said Mr. Reeves in speaking on the Bill before the House, "the Arbitration Court will be very often called into requisition; on the contrary, I think that in ninety cases out of a hundred in which labour disputes arise, they will be settled by the Boards of Conciliation." The result of actual experience has, however, been very different. More than two-thirds of the disputes brought before Boards are ultimately carried to the Court. Of the first 62 disputes referred to the Boards by unions all but 19 were carried to arbitration. Neither party comes before the Conciliation tribunal with any confidence in the finality of its decision; both feel they are going through a lengthy, tedious and irritating investigation which will serve no practical purpose; and that the whole business

will have to be gone over again in the higher Court. A section of the labour organisations are already seriously discussing the abolition of the Conciliation Boards as useless; and the great majority of employers would probably be heartily glad to see them done away with.

There is, however, no need on this account to despair of the ultimate success of this interesting experiment. There is on the contrary strong ground for hope. The faults of construction which experience has revealed in the Act will no doubt be remedied by further legislation; in particular, the constitution of the Boards and the provision for enforcing awards call for change. As experience of the working of the Act increases, unionists will probably become less, employers more, eager to invoke its aid. So far, a steady revival of prosperity has helped the success of the Act in operation; whether it will stand equally well the test of a falling labour market remains, of course, to be seen. But public opinion in the Colony is quite prepared to give the experiment a fair trial; and employers and employed alike will readily put up with incidental difficulties and even hardships in the operation of the Act rather than revert in labour disputes to the argument of the brick-bat.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE PROGRESS OF LAND SETTLEMENT.

THE abolition of the provinces in 1878 left the Land Laws of the Colony, as it did Education and Finance, in a state of chaos. There were as many different systems of land purchase and land-occupation as there were provinces to administer them. The Land Regulations promulgated by Sir George Grey in 1853, under which crown lands were sold at ten shillings an acre without limitation as to quantity, had led to the creation of large pastoral estates. While there were few facilities for communication, while population was small, and while wool-growing formed the chief business of the Colony, it was inevitable that, as settlement moved inland from the coast towns, settlers should individually hold larger and larger areas. The large run-holder in his day played his part, and played it often well, in the development of the resources of the young Colony. But with the Public Works Policy and the consequent opening up of the country by roads and railways; with the Immigration Policy and the consequent influx of population, and with the increasing importance of other rural industries than grazing, there arose a demand for a different kind of settler. The call for "land for the people" became the most pressing cry in politics; the large estates already created made it more difficult to satisfy the growing earth-hunger; the railways had

enormously increased the values of these estates; "betterment" had scarcely even been heard of, still less applied; the "unearned increment" of the run-holder made him regarded as something little short of a robber; and "land-sharks" and "social pests" were names freely applied to every one who owned above 5,000 acres.

All this is now in a fair way to being remedied. The progress of land settlement during the last ten or fifteen years is perhaps the most satisfactory feature in the history of the Colony. From 1896 to 1898 the area of occupied lands, exclusive of crown pastoral leases, increased from 17 to 24 million acres. Of a total of 60,759 holdings in the latter year, 58 per cent were from 1 to 100 acres in extent; 73 per cent were from 1 to 200 acres; 82 per cent from 1 to 320 acres; while only 17 per cent of the total number of holdings were over 320 acres. And the process of subdivision and closer settlement goes on and will continue to go on for many years to come. In the process the large runholder has not suffered, as he dreaded, spoliation; his "unearned increment" has not been confiscated; the worst he can complain of is that Parliament has applied the *lene tormentum* of a graduated tax to his purse. Many holders annually offer their lands to the Government for settlement purposes, and seem well contented with the prices they receive; while, in a very few cases, estates have been acquired under an act which gives the Government power of compulsory purchase.

Successive governments have for years past vied with each other in their efforts to carry out the "land for the people" policy. To have settled more people on the land than his predecessor gives a minister an even surer claim to popularity than to have added

more inches to the statute book. Among ministers who have in the last two decades been placed in charge of the Department of Lands and Agriculture the names of three stand out prominently for their wise policy and successful administration in promoting close settlement: William Rolleston, John Ballance and John MacKenzie. To their united efforts is due the present land system of New Zealand, under which the Government carries out its policy of "placing the people on the land."

There are many varieties of tenure under that system; but two broad principles underlie the whole: the State-ownership of the soil, with the perpetual tenancy of the occupier; and the limitation of area which one man may hold. It is not to be inferred from this, however, that the Nationalisation of land has been adopted in New Zealand or that its doctrines are ever likely to find general acceptance in the colony. The majority of land occupiers are freeholders, and any legislation in the direction of State-resumption would meet with small support. The system of State-ownership with perpetual tenancy is adopted simply as a convenience to the occupier with a limited capital; and he has other tenures on which he can select at his option.

As a rule when Crown land is thrown open for selection it is offered to the public on three different systems. The intending settler may acquire the freehold for cash; or a lease of twenty-five years with a purchasing clause; or a lease in perpetuity. Under this last system the land is leased for a period of 999 years, subject to certain conditions imposed as to residence and improvements. The rental is fixed at 4 per cent on the cash price of the land and there is at no time a right of purchase. The tenure has

practically all the fixity of a freehold; it carries with it a freeholder's rights of sale, mortgage, sub-lease, or disposition by will. There is no periodical revaluation; the rent fixed at the outset remaining constant. It offers to the poor man, especially, the attraction that he can take up land with very little capital, and what capital he has he can lay out in improvements instead of spending it on the purchase of the freehold.

Several interesting experiments have been made in the direction of settling workmen with little or no capital on small holdings, in situations where the occupier may hope to eke out his income from the land by working for part of the year at harvesting, shearing, road-making, or at his own particular craft. Under the 1892 Land Act, "small farm associations" of not less than twelve persons may select a block of land up to 11,000 acres on the "Lease in Perpetuity" system. This experiment in agricultural Co-operation has only met with moderate success. Six years after the system came into force there were some 1000 settlers holding under it in different parts of the colony. The quality of the land selected and proximity to markets were naturally important elements in success. Most of this class of settlers are unfortunately barely holding their own. The "Village Settlements" system seemed to promise brighter prospects of success. Under it, settlers can take up (a) village allotments not exceeding one acre each, at a cash price of not less than £3 per allotment; (b) Homestead allotments of from 1 to 100 acres on lease in perpetuity at a rental of 4 per cent. Residence and improvements are compulsory. The leases cannot be seized for debt or sold on bankruptcy; and the Government

will advance money for houses, clearing, fences, etc. In 1898 there were 1500 settlers holding under the village-settlement system, the total number of persons residing on the 3500 acres taken up being close on 5000. The Government has advanced £25,000 in loans, most of which is still due; but has received in return as rent and interest, £32,000. As the improvements are valued at £115,000, the Government may be considered to possess adequate security for its advances. These figures seem to justify the claim made by Mr. W. P. Reeves that the village settlements in New Zealand have been "a striking and permanent success. They have been the means of attaching to the soil in hope and comfort some five thousand human beings, who have returned to the Treasury in rent, interest and repayment of principal a greater sum in cash than the total amount advanced to them, and who have made improvements on their holdings of more than four times the value of the Government loans." *

The principle of restricting the area which any one individual may hold is rigorously applied to all purchases of land from the Government on the "free selection" system. As the whole object of "free selection" under the present Land Act is the encouragement of close settlement, it is obviously both fair and expedient that the wealthy man should not be able to appropriate to himself large areas; if he wants to acquire a large estate there are plenty in the market belonging to private owners that he can choose from. Under existing conditions the price at which land is offered is fixed for ever; and as the choice of a selection is by ballot, the poor man has an equal chance with the rich of acquiring land.

* Mr. W. P. Reeves in the *National Review*, June, 1898.

The act defines the amount of land any one may acquire at 640 acres of first class and 2000 acres of second class land, inclusive of any lands he may already hold. The ingenious attempts often made in the past to evade restrictions of this sort by getting additional areas in the names of relatives, agents or other men of straw, are popularly known as "Dummyism." Such attempts may be punished by fines, forfeiture or even, in extreme cases, imprisonment. The "dummy" was the especial *bête noire* of the minister for lands in the Seddon administration—the Hon. John MacKenzie —throughout his parliamentary career; and his vigorous onslaughts on the "dummy" have practically led to the extermination of the species.

In addition to the Land Act of 1892 which has so far been referred to, there is also on the Statute Book a law known as the "Land for Settlements Act," and the provisions of this have long been a bone of contention between the opposed political parties. Although there are large tracts of land belonging to the Crown not yet settled and large tracts belonging to the aboriginal natives not yet acquired, there is already a dearth of crown lands available for settlement in suitable localities. It is obviously impracticable to plant a "village settlement" or a "small farms' association" in the midst of a totara forest or among the hills "at the back of beyond," inaccessible alike by rail or road. It is obviously equally impracticable to settle a colonial mechanic or an immigrant English farmer, inexperienced in breaking new country, on bush-clad or prairie land in its virgin state. Such settlers can only thrive in the vicinity of towns and markets and on land capable of yielding an early return for labour spent on

it. In order that the Government might have such lands to offer on "free selection" the "Land for Settlement Act" was passed in 1892–1894. This Act empowers the Government, on the advice of an independent Board of Land Purchase Commissioners, to buy such estates as may be offered, which are considered suitable for subdivision and close settlement. At the present time the Government is empowered to expend yearly half-a-million per annum in such purchases. The lands thus acquired are surveyed, subdivided, and roaded; and are then leased in perpetuity at a 5 per cent rental on a capital value fixed at a sufficient rate to cover first cost, together with incidental charges of administration and subdivision. During the first six years in which the Act was in operation—up to March 31st, 1896—the purchases completed amounted to 49 estates, of a total area of 154,624 acres, costing, including roading, surveying and administration, £705,728. The whole of this has been relet with the exception of 15,000 odd acres; there are 2,522 persons residing on the property, and they pay an annual rental of £34,000, of which only £1,363 was in arrear. It is claimed that the total rentals bring in 4.85 per cent interest on the outlay and that the rentals received exceed the interest paid by the Government on the purchase money by £10,000 odd, per annum. So far, then, it would seem the administration of the Act has been attended with success; but seasons and prices have alike been favourable to the experiment. It will only be possible to form an accurate estimate of the success of this form of State-landlordism after the Act has been in operation over a longer period of years.

An amendment introduced into the Act in 1894

has given rise to much criticism as an undue interference by the State with the property rights of the individual. This is a clause providing for the compulsory purchase of estates in cases where the owner either declines to sell, or where an agreement cannot be arrived at as to price. Where the Governor in Council decides that the acquisition of any given estate for purposes of subdivision is desirable, the Government may take the land and the amount to be paid to the owner is decided by a Compensation Court composed of a supreme court judge and two assessors, one appointed by Government, the other by the owner. Only one property has hitherto been acquired compulsorily. The attempt to acquire another—the Hatuma Estate in the North Island—has led to much litigation and affords a striking illustration of the evils to which the exercise of such powers of compulsory purchase may lead. Between the estimates of the two assessors there is a difference of £16,000; and the Judge of the Supreme Court who presided over the case declared his inability to decide, on the conflicting evidence, as to the discrepancy between them. He declined on the one hand to condemn the Government to pay £16,000 more for the property than it is worth; and on the other to rob a citizen of an amount equivalent to a competent fortune. It is fervently to be hoped that it will be possible for the Government in future to pursue their admirable land policy without resort to methods that savour unpleasantly of tyranny and oppression.

But the most striking illustration of the success of the Land Settlement policy in the Colony is the purchase by the Government and the subsequent settlement of the Cheviot Estate. This constitutes

perhaps the most signal benefit the present administration has conferred upon the Colony.

The Cheviot Estate was a huge sheep-run of some 130 square miles in area, stretching along the east coast of the northern part of the South Island. It consisted for the most part of undulating, "down" country, well grassed, and for the greater part of its extent exceedingly fertile. In 1893 the owners of "Cheviot" disputed the valuation of the Land Tax Commissioner. He had assessed it for the purpose of taxation at £304,000; the trustees declared it was only worth £260,000. A useful provision exists in the Land Tax Act, as a protection against over-valuation, which enables the owner who considers his property over-valued by the Taxation Commissioners to compel the Government either to reduce the valuation or take over the land at his own estimate. The owners of the Cheviot Estate called upon the Government to reduce the valuation to £260,000 or to buy at their price. The Hon. John MacKenzie, Minister for Lands, decided to buy; and subsequent events have amply proved the wisdom of the decision. The estate was bought at the figure named. Some £43,000 additional was spent in surveying the land and opening it up for close settlement. Sixty-four miles of roads were constructed; and bridges were built over the streams and rivers and a landing-service established at Port Robinson. In the course of the two ensuing years the whole of the estate was taken up by settlers with the exception of some 3000 acres of reserves. Some was sold for cash; but the greater part was disposed of on the lease in perpetuity system. The total outlay was some £330,000; the odd £30,000 was returned by sales; and on the remainder the rents received pay the Government, it is claimed, 5 per cent interest.

It is only seven years since the estate was acquired. There were then 70 people supported on the soil and 70,000 sheep. To-day there live on it 17,000 human beings and it supports 183,000 sheep besides 5,000 or more cows and horses, pigs, poultry and "such small deer." Seven years ago "Cheviot" was one vast sheep-run; now it is cut up into close on 500 farms and village homesteads; a prosperous yeomanry have replaced the handful of shepherds; the value of the improvements already effected amounts to £63,274; and of their aggregate annual rent of close upon £25,000 only £188 is at present in arrears. Most of the small farms on Cheviot, as elsewhere in New Zealand, are "mixed farms"; sheep-farming and dairy-farming are combined. Many of the settlers were mechanics and shopkeepers; some among them have turned out "duffers"; but the majority with proverbial colonial adaptability have become successful yeomen. At first they erected rudely-thatched mud whares; now the country side glistens with the galvanised roofs of weather-board cottages, set in trim, well-fenced, well-kept gardens and "paddocks." There are three schools on the estate; the township of "MacKenzie" is a thriving village which already possesses a town hall erected by public subscription; a church; and all the other adjuncts of the average New Zealand "township" except a public-house.

As yet the settlement suffers from inadequate means of exporting the produce; but the first sod of the Cheviot railway has already been turned; the Government expresses itself determined to push on the work; and before long Cheviot will probably be in direct communication with Port Lyttleton.

An important element in promoting this rapid

progress of land settlement has been the operation of the "Government Advances to Settlers Office." This is a state system of *Credit Foncier* introduced by legislation in 1894. A serious obstacle to agricultural progress was the high rates of interest and the heavy mortgage charges prevailing in the Colony. Many of the settlers were seriously encumbered; the prices of produce had fallen considerably; but they were still paying rates of interest at 6, 7, 8 or, in some cases, even a higher rate to the loan companies or private money lenders from whom they had received advances. The credit of the colony in the English money-market had steadily improved; it seemed feasible for the Government to borrow money in the London market and relend it to New Zealand farmers at rates much lower than those ruling and yet make no loss on the transaction. The Advances to Settlers Act was accordingly passed. It empowered the raising of a loan of £3,000,000 at a rate not higher than 4 per cent and devised a scheme for advancing it to settlers on first class mortgages of lands occupied for farming, dairying or market-gardening purposes. These loans were to bear interest at 5 per cent; and were not to exceed in amount 60 per cent of the realisable value of the security in case of freehold, and 5 per cent of the lessee's interest in case of leasehold. In accordance with the provisions of the Act £1,500,000 was raised on a 3 per cent loan, the average price being £94 per cent. Subsequently an additional half-million was raised; but the demand for the third million authorised by the Act has not yet arisen, probably because the fall in the general rate of interest concurrent with, and as the Government maintain, consequent upon, the operation of the Act, has led to

fewer applications under the system than were anticipated. Loans to settlers range from £250 to £3,000. On these they pay half-yearly instalments of £3 for every £100 of loan; of this six per cent, five per cent is interest on the capital lent, one per cent goes to a sinking fund, and the loan is extinguished in 73 half yearly payments, that is to say at the expiration of 36½ years. The borrower may, however, at any time, pay off the balance of the loan or make partial payments of £5 or multiples of £5 towards its extinction. An amending act provides also for "fixed loans" for periods not exceeding ten years, which are repayable without sinking fund at the end of the term and bear interest at 5 per cent. The advantages the system offers to settlers are briefly these: the rate of interest charged is lower than that which was generally paid at the coming into operation of the Act; there are no procuration fees; the charges for valuation, and for preparing and registering mortgages are exceedingly moderate, amounting, in the case of loans under £500, only to £2, 16s. in all; the loan is automatically extinguished in a generation or may be paid off at any time in a lump sum. The act has been in operation since February, 1895. Up till the 31st of March, 1899, advances had been made to 6,222 applicants, amounting in the aggregate to £1,700,000; for these the securities were valued at close upon £4,000,000. It is significant that 63 per cent of the total amount applied for was required for the purpose of paying off existing mortgages bearing a higher rate than 5 per cent.

In the earlier years of its history New Zealand was almost exclusively a sheep-growing country; and wool and mutton are still so far its most impor-

tant products, that they are responsible for over 60 per cent of its total exports. Soil and climate combine to make it one of the most suitable parts of the world for sheep-farming. It is equally free from the long and severe winters of the mother-country and the parching droughts of its sister colonies on the Australian Continent. In the North Island, sheep will thrive the whole year round on native grasses; and the sheep on many runs receive no other care beyond the annual mustering for lamb-marking and shearing. In the South Island, the supplying of winter feed requires more attention; and there are occasional years in which the losses consequent upon a rigorous winter are heavy. But in three essentials of successful sheep-farming—low cost of production of mutton, high average clip, and large rate of increase,—New Zealand is peculiarly favoured. Under ordinary conditions the very choicest mutton can be produced so as to pay the grower handsomely at 2d. per lb., at the nearest shipping port, which means, ex-steamer at a London dock, only 3½d. per lb. The average clips vary from 4 lbs. to 7 lbs. for Merinos to 11 lbs. for Lincolns, while special flocks will yield as much as 25 lbs. to 30 lbs. per sheep. The lambing average all over the colony is, considering the little care bestowed upon housing or feeding the ewes, remarkably high. In paddocks an increase of 100 to 125 per cent is not uncommon in favourable seasons; while on hill and unimproved country it varies from 45 to 80 per cent.

The flocks of the colony have increased from 1½ million sheep in 1858 to over 20 million at the present time. Before 1882 wool was the chief consideration, the surplus stock finding its way into the boiling down vats, tallow and pelts being the only prod-

ucts of value. Since that date, however, the marvellous expansion of the frozen meat industry has revolutionised sheep-farming in the colony. The rapid growth of the industry, started by the settlers themselves who formed the original freezing companies, is a splendid triumph of private enterprise.

In 1882 the first trial shipment, comprising under 9,000 carcases, was made from this colony. Its complete success led to the almost simultaneous erection of freezing works in Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington, Napier, and Auckland; and from that time the history of the trade has been one continued advance. In the year when New Zealand sent its tentative shipment of mutton to England, the Australian continent sent 57,000 carcases. In 1898, sixteen years after, the export from this colony amounted to 2,700,000 carcases, or close upon two-thirds of the total imports into England. Though the colony has now powerful competitors in the Australian Commonwealth and the Argentine Republic, she is well able to hold her own; nor has the annual export of frozen mutton as yet taxed her producing powers; for never in the history of the colony have the flocks increased so rapidly as since the inception of the frozen-meat trade.

There are now 21 freezing-works in New Zealand, with a full freezing capacity of 3½ million sheep per annum. "The collateral industries which are carried on in connection with these are scarcely less important than the freezing itself. Side by side with the latter are to be found tallow-works, fellmongeries, meat-tinning works, oil-and-manure works. At some establishments absolutely nothing is thrown away, and all waste matter is converted into manure. As the whole of this manure is sold

in New Zealand, every part of the slaughtered animals which is not required for export goes back to renovate the soil and is thus made to play its proper part in the great economy of nature."

Indirectly, too, the frozen meat industry has had far-reaching influence on the development of the colony's resources; for it led to the establishment of direct steam communication with England. Before its inauguration, all the Home-trade of the colony was carried in sailing-vessels, their voyages averaging from 3 to 4 months. Now there is a fortnightly steamer service, occupying from six to seven weeks, between the colony and the mother-land. The New Zealand Shipping Company was the first to establish a direct Steam-service in order to meet the demand of the frozen meat trade. There are now three other Companies in the field; and thirty-six vessels, thirty of them steamers, are employed in the trade, their total carrying capacity being about three million sheep per annum.

The industry came into existence at a time when wool and wheat were ruinously low in price and when the colony was suffering from acute commercial depression. It is not too much to say that the settlers who had the enterprise and courage to initiate and carry to success this new department of industrial and commercial activity "saved the republic" and deserve well at the hands of the state.

The soil in most parts of the colony is well adapted to the growth of grasses and cereals. Though the area of the colony is only 1-30th of that of the Australian Continent its acreage in sown grasses is 30 times as great. On forest clearings in the North Island, where the felled timber has been destroyed by fire, the best pasture-grasses will thrive with

no other preparation than scattering the seed on the ash-covered soil;—the stumps of the trees making ploughing impossible—and, in less than a year from the date of scattering, the land will fatten five to six sheep per acre. Most of the cereal crops, too, on suitable lands, give higher returns than are obtained anywhere in the Empire except in England itself.

Wheat and oats are the principal grain-crops raised in the colony. The chief wheat-district is the Canterbury Plain, a tract of flat or undulating country, on the East Coast of the South Island, some 150 miles in length, forming an area of over 3,000,000 acres. The pioneer settler found it covered with native grass and tussock; he had no forests to fell, and the land presented no impediments to his plough. It is well watered and prolonged or severe droughts are unknown; in an especially dry season there is an agitation got up for irrigating the plains, but interest in the question is not great because the necessity is not pressing. In time, no doubt, an irrigation scheme will be carried out—legislation has already prepared the way for it—and this must vastly increase the productiveness of the already rich plain. In the meanwhile Canterbury farmers are content to receive, at an outlay of some £2 per acre, an average crop of 30 bushels of wheat.

During the year 1899 the total wheat crop of the colony amounted to 13 million bushels, and of this Canterbury produced 8 million. The total crop of oats amounted to 11 million bushels, and of this the more southern province of Otago contributed 8 million. The average yield of this crop is from 40 to 80 bushels per acre and the cost of production about the same as wheat. In the Auckland province maize is rapidly becoming a very important crop.

close on a million bushels being annually produced, at the good average of 44 bushels per acre. Hops, potatoes, turnips, grass-seed, and fruits are crops to which settlers turn their attention with varying success; but these have not yet become important items in our exports.

Almost as remarkable as the development of the frozen meat industry, has been the expansion of Co-operative dairy-farming during the present decade. While freezing, however, owed its inception and progress entirely to the private enterprise of the settlers, dairying in the colony owes not a little of its success to the fostering care of the Government. As early as 1882 the Government brought Co-operative dairying into existence by the offer of a bonus of £500 for the first 50 tons of cheese produced on the factory system. During the past ten years the Department of Agriculture has devoted itself vigorously to the work of educating the farmers in scientific methods, facilitating the transit and export of their produce, and improving the quality and uniformity of the output. European experts in the employ of the Department tour the colony giving experimental instruction in the manufacture of butter and cheese; pamphlets and "dairy-bulletins" are sent out to farmers periodically and serve a useful educational purpose; all butter and cheese intended for export have to be sent to Government cool-stores to be graded; and a Produce Commissioner in London attends to the interests of trade when the goods reach the English market. In thus following out Danish methods, the Government has done much to place New Zealand dairy-produce on the footing of successful competition with the Danish output.

The dairy-farmer in the colony has many natural advantages in his favour. He is saved much labour in not having to grow feed or care for his cows under cover for a long season: throughout the greater part of the colony, cattle are never stabled during the winter months. Our Antipodean seasons make it possible for the farmer to supply fresh grass-made butter during the European winter-months; and the improvements effected in cool-storage and transit enable the produce to be landed in good condition and at small cost in the English market. The institution of Co-operative Factories has greatly improved dairy-produce both in quality and economy of production. They return to the milk-supplier the full value of his milk, less the actual cost of manufacturing the produce; they give the small farmer what he most appreciates—ready cash; and as the shares in the factories are for the most part owned by the settlers themselves, profits and losses are evenly distributed over the district. The progress of the industry may be judged from the fact that the number of cattle in the colony has increased from 831,831 in 1891 to 1,203,024 in 1899; there are at the present time 222 Butter and Cheese factories in the Colony; the export of butter amounted in the year 1898–9 to 102,481 cwt., and of cheese to 50,490 cwt.—of a total value of over half-a-million.

New Zealand approaches very closely to an ideal farmer's country. It is endowed by Nature with a fertile soil and a humid climate; it is free from severe extremes of heat or cold; and it is exempt alike from parching droughts or disastrous floods. Wages, it is true, are higher than in Britain; but on the other hand the farmer has a much larger propor-

tion of fine working-days in the year; he is at less expense in housing his stock or supplying his winter feed. Sheep are practically free from contagious disease; and the most serious pest the agriculturist has to contend with is the small-birds' nuisance. He is nowhere far from the seaboard, and the opening up of the country by roads and railways gives him yearly increasing facilities for the cheap carriage of his produce to the shipping ports. Men with slender means can easily make homes for themselves and their families if they are willing to work hard and live frugally for a few years; and it is probably fair to claim that New Zealand is not surpassed by any British possession as a country for yeomen.*

* The writer desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to pamphlets and papers published under Government authority, by Mr. M. Murphy F.L.S. on "Agriculture;" Mr. T. A. Johnstone on "Sheep-Farming"; Mr. Dilnot Sladden on "The Frozen-Meat Trade," and Mr. John Sawers, Chief Dairy Instructor, on "The Dairy Industry."

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION.

NEW ZEALAND is justly proud of its national system of education. Under it the State undertakes the training of over ninety per cent of the children of the colony. Liberal provision has been made, both by the Provincial and the General Government, for primary and secondary schools and for university colleges; and as a result only a small portion of the work of educating the young is left either to private enterprise or private benevolence.

Before their abolition, each of the provincial governments had made some sort of provision for primary education in its district. These provincial systems differed greatly both in character and efficiency. Most of them were denominational: schools under the partial control of different religious denominations were subsidised from the proceeds of a school rate. The system in vogue in the Nelson province was the best; that in Auckland the worst. In Nelson, Otago and Canterbury the results attained were satisfactory. In some of the other districts the standard of attainment was exceedingly low; the system of inspection often a farce; and many of the so-called schoolmasters in country districts scallywags who had failed in other callings.

In 1877 the Government passed an Education Act for the whole colony which swept away the denomi-

national systems in the provincial districts and substituted a uniform scheme of "free, secular, and compulsory education." The name of Mr. Charles Christopher Bowen, at the time Minister of Justice in the Atkinson Cabinet, will always be honourably remembered in the history of the colony as the introducer and, in great measure, the framer of this Bill. As first drafted, the Bill contained provision for opening school every morning with the reading of the Lord's Prayer and a portion of the Holy Scriptures. But this clause raised a war of sects; and the Act, as finally passed, provided a system of education purely secular.

Attendance is compulsory between the ages of 7 and 13. No fees are charged, the cost of school-books being the only direct charge on the parent. The syllabus is divided into six standards, the subjects taught being "the three R's" with the addition of English grammar, history, geography, elementary science and drawing. Girls are taught sewing and the principles of domestic economy; boys are instructed in military drill. The administration of the Act is entrusted to eight district Boards, who receive from the Central Government a capitation grant of £3, 15s. per head of average attendance, together with an additional 1s. 6d. to form a scholarship fund, and an annual allotment for building purposes. Teachers are paid on average attendance; the scale of remuneration varies in different education districts, but it is nowhere high—only four teachers in the colony receive over £400 a year; and the average remuneration is under £100 per annum —considerably less than the average pay of mechanics.

The teaching given in these schools, especially in

the "three R's," is extremely good on the whole. A too rigid system of classification has tended to produce mechanical results; but this has now been relaxed and freedom of classification is allowed the teacher up to the third standard. This will probably lead to the age at which children pass the standards being raised; more time will be allowed for the true work of education as distinct from "cramming" for Inspectors' results; the teacher will become something more than an educational machine; and the more he is trusted, become more worthy the trust.

The literary and scientific attainments of the average teacher leave much to be desired. Many of them are cultured men and women; there are probably more university graduates engaged in primary instruction here than in England; and of the 2,500 teachers in the service more than ninety per cent hold Certificates. But the requirements for the lowest of these certificates (they range from A 1 to E 5) are exceedingly meagre; the non-technical subjects could be passed with ease by a middle-form boy in a good secondary school. The E certificate is guarantee of little knowledge and less culture, and unfortunately the list of certificated teachers is like a compositor's "frame"—the E's predominate. There are but two training colleges in the colony, with some 80 students between them; but University lectures are largely attended by teachers employed in the vicinity of the four principal towns; and the standard of attainments in the profession is distinctly rising.

This system of National Education is prized by the people of the colony as their most valued institution. For many years, both in and out of Parliament, efforts were made to have some sort of relig-

ious teaching introduced into the schools. But public opinion was averse to any step that threatened, however remotely, a return to the old denominational system; and the agitation for religious instruction in State schools has for some years past ceased to be a practical political question. The Roman Catholic colonists do not as a rule send their children to the state schools, preferring to support Church schools of their own: thus paying their proportion of taxes for the education of Protestant children in addition to the burden of paying fees for the education of their own. The hardship of this is frankly recognised; but all proposals to remedy it by state grants to Catholic Schools are defeated as "the thin edge of the wedge" of denominationalism. The improvement in the degree of Education in the colony since the Act came into force is strikingly shown by the census statistics. In 1878, 69 per cent of the population were returned as able to read and write; in 1896 the number had risen to 80. Before the Act came into force the number of children between the ages of 5 and 15 who could not read, varied from 44 per cent in Nelson to 59 per cent in Canterbury. Twenty years after the Act came into operation, of children at the age period, 10–15 years, as many as 98.73 per cent were able to read and write. Before another generation is passed it is safe to predict that education, tested by ability to read and write, will be practically universal in the Colony.

Possibly because of the excellence and popularity of the primary schools, the number of children receiving secondary education in the colony is comparatively not large. There are 25 secondary schools more or less directly under state con-

trol. Two of these are church foundations; the rest are supported by endowments set aside by the old provincial government or by direct state grants. Less than three thousand pupils attend them as against 132,000 in the primary schools. These schools are not "free"—the fees range from six to fourteen guineas a year—and they are only nominally "secular"—in most cases school is opened with prayer. The standard of education in classics and mathematics is probably not so high as in English schools of the same class; Greek, for example, is rarely taught; but the "English" subjects receive correspondingly more attention, and science is an important branch of the curriculum, all the larger schools having well-equipped Chemical and Physical laboratories.

The University of New Zealand was brought into existence in the year 1870 by an act of the Colonial Parliament constituting it and by a Royal Charter conferring upon it the right to grant the degrees of Bachelor, Master, and Doctor, in Arts, Science, Law, Music and Medicine; these academic distinctions "shall be entitled to rank, precedence and consideration in our United Kingdom and in our Colonies and possessions throughout the world, as fully as if the said degrees had been granted by any university of our said United Kingdom." The University so constituted is an examining institution consisting of a governing body called the Senate and an advisory board of its own graduates called Convocation. Both are peripatetic, their annual sessions being held in rotation in each of the four centres of population. The standard required for its degrees will compare favourably with those in other Colonial Universities; and the distinctions it

confers derive an added value from the fact that its examinations are conducted by eminent Professors in the Universities of the United Kingdom. The delay necessitated by sending the papers of candidates to England to be examined and the further delay before the results can be received in the Colony are undoubtedly an inconvenience. On one occasion, too, the mail steamer carrying the papers to England was wrecked and the hard-won knowledge of some four hundred students, duly confided to many reams of foolscap, is at present lying in the ocean near Cape Horn "suffering a sea-change into something rich and strange." But students cheerfully acquiesce in such inconveniences for the sake of the prestige enjoyed by the degrees from being thus endorsed by eminent scholars in older Universities.

But though the University itself is merely an examining body, there are associated with it four "Affiliated Colleges"—one at each of the chief centres of population in the colony. At these there are at present close upon one thousand undergraduates "keeping terms" in preparation for degrees; and the number of graduates on the roll of the University has already reached 694. The majority of these are engaged in teaching; but a good proportion of members of the legal, medical and journalistic professions are also *alumni* of the young University. Of the four affiliated Colleges, that in the province of Otago is the oldest, having been founded as a separate University as early as 1869; Canterbury College in Christchurch was established in 1879; Auckland University College in 1886; and Victoria College, Wellington, in 1897. All of these are non-residential, resembling in this respect Scotch rather

than English Universities; they are essentially "popular" institutions, the great majority of the students belonging to the lower and middle classes of the people. The fees are so moderate that a University education is within reach of the sons and daughters of people of very small means, and a large proportion of the graduates spring from the working classes. Technical schools exist in connection with several of the Colleges. In Otago there is a School of Medicine and a School of Mines; in connection with Canterbury College there are Schools of Agriculture, Engineering and Music. In all, good provision is made for practical instruction in natural and experimental Science; Latin and Mathematics are compulsory subjects in all the degrees; but Greek is scarcely taught at all; and in none of the Colleges is sufficient attention given to History and Economics. English Language and Literature receives on the other hand more prominence than is given to it in the curricula of most Universities in the United Kingdom. From the outset, the New Zealand University has made no distinction in its degrees between women and men. About one-third of its students are women; and the names of women are found in the same proportion in its lists of graduates, scholars, prize-winners and "Honours" students. It was the first University in the Empire to confer a degree on a woman; and in the competition for its honours and distinctions women have proved themselves at least equally successful with men. The majority of the lady-graduates engage in teaching; some few enter journalism and two or three are in active practice as barristers and doctors; but for a long time to come the profession of teach-

ing will be the chief field for employment of colonial girl graduates.

The professors in the College have in most cases been brought out from English, Scotch or Irish Universities. Only one chair and two or three small lectureships have so far been filled by graduates of the New Zealand University. Until the University sees its way to provide a post-graduation course or to establish a system of "over-sea" scholarships by which its graduates may continue their education in the Universities of the old world, it is not probable that the custom of importing its professors will cease for a long time.

Education in all its branches is probably more accessible to the people in New Zealand than in any other part of the world. A liberal scheme of scholarships enables a youth of exceptional ability to proceed from the primary schools to the secondary and from these to the University with little or no cost to the parents. There are many students who from the age of twelve to twenty-one have been entirely supported by scholarships, the total amounts thus earned amounting in some cases to as much as £700, and the enthusiasm for education in the colony is at least equal to the facilities for it.

So far as the younger generation of New Zealanders is concerned, they will compare, from an educational point of view, more than favourably with Englishmen of the same class elsewhere. In spite of the charges of "cramming" repeatedly made, against this as against all other systems of education, the young New Zealander is as a rule intelligent and well-informed. There is a newspaper of some sort for every 1,500 of adult population; and every village in the colony has its state-aided public li-

brary; and of the people who marry, only about one-half per cent sign the register by mark. The ignorant "yokel" is practically unknown in New Zealand; and it is probably fair to say that there is no part of the British dominions where education is so widely diffused.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

ART, SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

THESE things in New Zealand are only in their beginnings and the beginnings are small. The colonist is fond of pictures—but he imports them from Home. He reads books and magazines in plenty—but they are by English writers. There is probably a higher average of culture in New Zealand than in England, but it is English culture. As yet it would be rash to say there is anything distinctively national either in the art or literature of the Colony. There is no leisured class; there is no metropolis. Art and Literature have therefore not yet become remunerative professions. Many native-born have already made their mark in both; but to do so they have had to leave the Colony in order to find those two essentials of success—models and a market.

New Zealand with its wealth of natural beauty, "garlanded grand with its forests of Kauri," a land of rugged white-clad ranges, of winding fiords and glacier torrents, will one day become the home of a great school of landscape painters. Already its beauties have inspired much good, sound work. John Gully of Nelson was the pioneer of painting in the Colony; and his water-colour sketches find honourable place in the galleries of the neighbouring colonies. Others after him have done meritorious work both in water-colour and oils. But with

the exception of small collections in the local galleries of the chief towns they have no great masterpieces to guide them. The "schools of art" established in the Colony are almost exclusively devoted to training students in technical and decorative art: the commercial value of wall-papers and carpet-patterns attracts their energies rather than the higher aspirations of pure art. The colonial temperament is as yet too aggressively commercial to be artistic. The Government of the Colony, unlike the Australasian governments, does absolutely nothing to encourage art and private munificence does little more.

The architecture in New Zealand towns is of the crudest description. There are indeed here and there some fine public buildings in stone—in Christchurch and Dunedin especially. But the builders of business premises and private houses seem to have a single eye to utility and economy. More than ninety per cent of the houses are of wood; timber is cheap and earthquakes not uncommon. Only a few architects in the colony design wooden houses with any pretensions to artistic beauty either because they have not the imagination or because there is not the demand. Wellington, the chief town of the colony, is probably, from an architectural point of view, the ugliest in the world. Its square wooden houses are roofed with galvanised iron; and looked at from the terraces above, the town resembles nothing so much as a collection of derelict kerosene tins. The average New Zealand villa or cottage is a square box, with a four to six-foot passage, pretentiously called a "hall," running through it from front to back. On either side of this, arranged with all a Scotch gardener's love of symmetry, are sitting-room and dining-room, bedrooms and kitchen. The roof

is usually of glaring galvanised iron, left unpainted for cheapness' sake, and there is no attempt at either internal or external decoration. If Gothic architecture drew its first inspiration from the leafy aisles of the German forest, the evolutionary starting point of the New Zealand villa must have been the tin-lined packing case in which the pioneer settler imported his goods and chattels. But these cottages are convenient if not beautiful; and there prevails within them a higher standard of comfort than obtains in the homes of the working or trading class in most other parts of the world.

The most widely diffused art in the colony is music. In all the large towns there are three or four musical societies; even remote up-country townships have their glee-club or choral association. Several English and Continental musicians of note are settled in the Colony and engaged in teaching; and there is an excellent "School of Music" in connection with one of the Colleges affiliated to the University. It is a convincing, but occasionally, also, distressing proof, of the general prosperity, that every thriving artisan has a piano in his cottage on which his daughter, in the intervals of factory or domestic employments, plays "The Blue Danube Waltz." The Colony has so far produced only one composer who seems likely to attain fame in a wider sphere—Mr. Alfred Hill. His Cantata "Hinemoa" is a composition of the first order of merit, while several of his songs are probably destined to live.

Though art does not, science does, receive a certain amount of state encouragement. The New Zealand Institute, an association of some 800 members, with branches in the chief towns of the Colony, receives a substantial grant from the Government

which enables it to publish an annual record of "Transactions" of very great scientific value. The Colony offers a rich field for scientific research. It is geologically one of the oldest countries on the face of the globe, and it exhibits every variety of volcanic phenomena in a state of activity. Its fauna and flora are in many respects unique. It was once the home of the huge *Dinornis* or Moa bird, of which remains still continue to be discovered in swamps and caves; it is still the habitat of the *Kiwi* and the *Tuatara lizard.* Finally it is the land of the Maori; the finest physically and intellectually of the Polynesian races; their language and traditions, their customs and their arts, offer a rich field for philological and ethnological research.

It is in the department of literature dealing with scientific subjects, therefore, that we find the most valuable and the most original work so far produced in New Zealand. The first purely scientific work dealing with the geology, botany and natural history of the Colony was Dr. Deiffenbach's "Travels in New Zealand," published in 1843; next in importance, perhaps, ranks the geological researches of Dr. Hochstetter, Sir Julius von Haast and Captain F. W. Hutton. The most complete work on the ornithology of New Zealand is Sir Walter Buller's beautifully illustrated "History of the Birds of New Zealand." But the Transactions of the New Zealand Institute, extending over some thirty years, teem with rare information in every field of scientific research. Among the most valuable contributions are the papers of the late Rev. W. Colenso, who devoted himself to the study of ethnology and natural history with the same enthusiasm that his cousin, the well-known Bishop of Natal, expended upon

mathematics and Biblical criticism; and was, like his more distinguished relative, a loving student of the manners and customs of the aboriginal race with which he was brought into contact.

The Maori race furnishes the subject matter of a large and interesting section of the scientific literature of the Colony. The early missionaries first gave them a written tongue; Lee and Kendall with their Maori grammar published in 1820, Colenso with his printing press at Pahia, and the first Bishop of Waiapu, W. Williams, with his "Dictionary" in 1844, erected Maori into a literary tongue with some approach to uniformity. Sir George Grey's "Polynesian Mythology" is invaluable as a record of the legendary and historical traditions of the Maori. It is full and accurate and faithful to the genius of the race; but it leaves something to be desired in point of literary treatment. A collection of Maori legends, in the manner and style of Church's "Stories from Homer," and illustrated with as true art, would be a valuable addition not merely to the Colony's, but to the world's literature. Mr. John White's "History of the Maori" is as ponderous as Holinshed and as full as Macaulay; the conflicting theories as to the origin and migrations of the race are discussed in a series of papers in the Polynesian Journal by Mr. S. Percy Smith, and are ultimately destined to form part of a great work on the subject; the philology of the Maori tongue is a chief subject of the researches of Mr. Edward Tregear, whose Comparative Polynesian Dictionary has already placed him in the first rank of living lexicographers.

"Of the making of books there is no end"—even among the young, busy, money-getting New Zealanders. But only a very few of the books so far written

in the Colony or by colonials deserve to take rank as literature. Journalism is the channel through which most of the literary talent bred and trained in the Colony finds expression; the men and women who are capable of more enduring work usually gravitate to London and, in a few cases, have taken an honourable place in the English world of letters.

The number of papers published in the Colony bears remarkable testimony to the general intelligence and demand for information among the people. In a population of a little over three-quarters of a million there are 208 newspapers on the official register. Many of these are of course mere up-country news-sheets; others are trade or professional journals. But four of them at least will compare favourably, both as to information, tone and style, with the leading papers of the great Australian cities: the Auckland *Herald,* Otago *Daily Times,* Lyttelton *Times* and Christchurch *Press.* Their news-columns are naturally vitiated by that most debased form of our mother tongue—reporters' English; but their leading and contributed articles exhibit a high standard of literary excellence and purity of diction. The aims of their proprietors are partly profit, partly political influence. The smallness of population in our towns makes their profitableness more than doubtful; the results of the last four elections go to show that, with one exception, they are completely out of touch with the political views of the majority. This, however, does not seem to affect their popularity or their circulation. Illustrated journalism scarcely existed in New Zealand ten years ago. Now it has reached a high state of artistic excellence in the weekly papers, several of these, especially the Christchurch *Weekly Press,* being justly noted for

the fine quality of its photographic and lithographic reproductions.

A number of magazines have from time to time been started in the Colony; but none have so far survived a sickly infancy. The weekly editions of the large dailies to some extent supply the place of "family magazines." For more serious periodical journalism the New Zealander has to go to English and American magazines, which are imported in great numbers. The want of a local magazine is much to be deplored: there is no medium for the calm and unbiassed discussion of social and legislative problems outside the columns of the daily papers, and these are, without exception, violently partisan; and there is no training school for literary talent in which the young New Zealander can try his unfledged wings. Of the various abortive attempts to form a periodical in the Colony the *New Zealand Magazine,* 1876–77, gave most promise of success. The ablest men in the Colony contributed to its columns; and several articles of permanent literary or scientific value appeared in it; but after existing for two years, it died from want of support. At the present time an illustrated monthly is struggling into popularity in Auckland; but it is still in the experimental stage. There are, however, two extremely valuable technical periodicals in the Colony: the monthly journal of the *Polynesian Society,* edited by Mr. S. Percy Smith; and the monthly Journal of the Department of Labour, edited by Mr. E. Tregear, a Government publication full of information, statistical and general, on the problems connected with capital and labour.

The reader who is interested in the story of pioneer settlement in New Zealand, in the labours of

the early missionaries, in our wars with the Maori, and in the traditions and customs of this now decadent race, has a large range of books to choose from. Most of the missionaries who laboured in the Colony during the first half of the century contributed "Journals," "Lives" and "Experiences" to this literature; in many of these there is unfortunately more of the venom of controversy than the accuracy of history; in others a well meaning piety scarcely atones for a blundering style. Travellers' tales, too, there are in plenty, from the dull but reliable experiences of Major Cruise to the entertaining but apocryphal adventures of John Rutherford. The Maori War, too, produced its own special crop of books, which from different points of view tell the same tale of ineptitude. These, though they have all their value as "books about New Zealand," cannot in any sense be said to belong to the beginnings of New Zealand literature.

There are, however, two books on the Colony, and these by far the best, which may fairly be claimed as part of our literature:—Manning's "Old New Zealand" (1863); and Reeves' "The Long White Cloud" (1898). The former was written by a man who spent the greater part of his life in the Colony, married a native wife, and became permanently domiciled as a pakeha-Maori; the latter by a man who was born in the Colony, educated in its schools and who has subsequently played a distinguished part in its public life. Manning's book describes the *vie intime* of the Maori, as it could only be known to a man who lived long among them, himself a naturalised Maori. It combines the truth of history with the charm of romance. The author did not merely observe, he was part of, the inner life of the *hapu*.

He describes the incidents of their daily life; their strange law of *muru;* the sacred significance and humorous inconveniences of the institution of *tapu;* their heraldic tattooing and their mourning mutilations; their war-dances and war-customs; their hospitality, their chivalry, their courage. But he does more than describe, he interprets, the life of the Maori; he understands, as none but a philosopher in the guise of a pakeha-Maori could understand, the "true inwardness" of laws, ceremonies and incidents that to the mere observer would appear only fantastic and absurd. Lord Pembroke in his preface to the second edition of "Old New Zealand" describes Manning as "the Charles Lever" of New Zealand literature; and the rich vein of humour in Manning's book justifies the comparison; but there was much more in Manning's sympathetic insight into Maori life than the genial humour which ranks him with the Irish novelist.

"The Long White Cloud," as Mr. W. P. Reeves calls his book, from the poetical Maori designation of the Colony, "Ao-tea-roa," is, though but recently issued, already too well-known to all who are interested in the Colony's history to need description or criticism here. It is a fascinating story from beginning to end, written in lucid, crisp, and often epigrammatic prose; it is at once the work of a practical man with experience of affairs and of an imaginative student with a turn for poetry. A fuller and more "facty" book might easily be produced; a history more agreeable to read will not soon be written.

Two other books of great value to the student of the Colony's history are Mr. W. Gisborne's "New Zealand Rulers and Statesmen" and Mr. Alfred

Saunders' "History of New Zealand." The first is the story of the Colony's public life told in a series of admirable biographical sketches; the second is a conscientious record of events from the pen of a man who earned by his long parliamentary career the *soubriquet* of the Nestor of New Zealand politics. It is strongly partisan and even at times inexcusably bitter in its criticism of the character and motives of public men. But it is filled with valuable information in its extensive quotations from political documents and speeches; and the sincere and honest patriotism of the writer more than atones for his injudicious invective and his literary shortcomings.

There seems to have existed in New Zealand at one time a taste for books depicting "ideal commonwealths." The same taste exists to-day, perhaps, but finds expression in Utopian legislation rather than in Utopian literature. Many books of the class, at all events, have been written in New Zealand or by New Zealanders. "The Decline and Fall of the British Empire," by the Rev. H. C. M. Watson, and Sir Julius Vogel's "Anno Domini 2,000" are examples. One book of this class achieved a wide and lasting success: Mr. Samuel Butler's "Erewhon; or, Over the Range." First published in the early seventies, simultaneously with Lytton's "Coming Race," it had by 1890 already passed through eight editions; and its popularity deserves to be permanent. New Zealand's claim to include it in her literature lies in the fact that Mr. Butler for some years resided in the Colony; the book probably first took shape in his mind while he was engaged in journalism in Canterbury; and the scene of his imaginary state "over the range" is on the west coast of the South Island. "Erewhon" has a

philosophical, not a political, purpose; in parts—such as the chapter on "The College of Unreason"—its satire is reminiscent of the most amusing parts of Gulliver's visit to Laputa; in others,—such as the "Book of Machines"—it anticipates by twenty years the vein now so successfully worked by the popular story-writer, Mr. H. G. Wells.

Much fiction, in the shape of short stories and novels of all sorts, has already been produced in the Colony; very little of it calls for notice here as New Zealand literature. There are, however, two graduates of the New Zealand University who have achieved success in fiction. Mrs. Edith Howitt Grossmann, besides contributing largely to periodical literature in the Colony, has produced two novels. The first, "Angela; or, The Messenger," is a study in Salvation Army emotionalism; it is remarkable more for occasional vivid word-painting of scenery than for incident or characterisation. Her second and more ambitious work, "In Revolt," is a novel on the marriage question. It is an exceedingly powerful book; several of the characters are drawn with a master-hand, and it contains some striking dramatic situations. But its sombre pessimism is unrelieved by a single ray of humour or brightness. It is as gloomy as Gissing in his darkest mood.

Mr. H. B. Marriott Watson, son of the Rev. H. C. M. Watson, himself a littérateur of ability, was born and educated in Christchurch, taking his degree at Canterbury College in 1884. He then went to London to embark upon the profession of letters. He has published several good novels; written a play, "Richard Savage"; a number of excellent short stories from his pen have appeared in the best magazines; and he has filled responsible posts on

the staffs of journals like the *National Observer* and the *Saturday Review*. So far, among New Zealanders who have taken to literature, his has been the most distinguished career. Two of his novels only can be said to belong to the Colony's literature: the first, *Marahuna*, a philosophical romance suggested apparently, like *Erewhon*, by studies in Darwinism, was written in part at least before he left the Colony. Another, "The Web of the Spider," is a stirring story of the "books for boys" type dealing with incidents in the Maori Wars, and interesting to New Zealanders from its local colouring.

New Zealand will one day be a land of singers as surely as it is destined to become the home of painters. But it is too early yet to look for the marks of a "School" among her poets. The Australian poet is already distinguishable by certain characteristic traits: in externals, the deification of the horse; in spirit, a sombre melancholy as dreary as the treeless, trackless wastes of his "haggard continent." But the New Zealand singer is still content to attune his lay to English melodies; the beauty and grandeur of his native land enters into his pictures; the joy and hope of a strong, young nation glows in his verse; the chivalrous courage of the noble race they have supplanted claims his tribute; but alike in the spirit and form of his art, he is still an English singer of an English song.

First and best of the New Zealand poets is Alfred Domett, author of "Ranolf and Amohia." He came to the Colony in 1842 and was among the earliest settlers in the Nelson province; and during the thirty years he remained, filled many important posts, chiefly in connection with the administration of Crown lands; he had a seat in the Colonial Legis-

lature from 1846 to 1870 and was for two years Premier of the Colony. "Ranolf and Amohia" was written during his residence in the Colony, but was not published till his return to England in 1871. It is a long narrative poem in six books—the story of the loves of Ranolf, a sailor-student, and Amohia, a Maori maiden. But this love-plot, like the narrative element in Wordsworth's "Excursion," is merely a loose link to connect together philosophical reflections, descriptions of nature, accounts of Maori customs and translations of Maori songs and legends. Domett handles with grace and facility a variety of difficult metres; he has a truly poetic gift of observation and his descriptions of New Zealand scenery—the weird wonders for example of its geyser region—are always vividly picturesque, even if occasionally marred by passages elaborated with the industry of a geographer rather than the genius of a poet. To the world of English readers Domett's New Zealand landscape was as new "as was Chateaubriand's description of Virgin America in his day"; and the poem was a literary, though not a popular, success. It proved the author to be a man of great originality and buoyant imaginative life. An early poem of Domett's, "A Christmas Hymn," had attracted the favourable notice of Longfellow; "Ranolf and Amohia" had the distinction of winning the warm approval of Browning; and Domett, the poet, returned from the Antipodes with his masterpiece as the fruit of his colonial experience, figures as "Waring" in Browning's poem of that name. Robert Browning wrote of it (1872): "I rank it under nothing—taken altogether—nothing that has appeared in my day and generation for subtle, yet clear, writing, about subjects the most urgent for

expression, and the least easy in treatment; while the affluence of illustration, and dexterity in bringing to bear upon the story every possible aid from every imaginable quarter, and that with such treasures, new and old, of language and such continuance of music in modes old and new—well, I hope I am no more surprised at the achievement than is consistent with my always having held to the belief that whenever 'Waring' reappeared, some such effect would follow the phenomenon." Lord Tennyson said of it, "Intellectual subtlety, great power of delineating delicious scenery, imaginative fire—all these are there."

Politics and poetry appear, in New Zealand at least, to possess some strange affinity. Domett, though the most distinguished, is by no means the only New Zealand author who succeeded in combining official duties with the cultivation of the Muses. Of the small band of verse writers in the Colony, a majority have been public men. Mr. Charles Christopher Bowen was Minister of Justice in one of the Vogel Cabinets; Mr. William Pember Reeves was Minister of Education in the Ballance Administration, Mr. William Jukes Steward was for some time Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. Vincent Pyke and Mr. Thomas Bracken for many years represented Otago constituencies: and each of these has produced a book of poems. Mr. C. C. Bowen in 1861 published a volume of verses, of which "The Battle of the Free" and "Moonlight in New Zealand" are perhaps the best. Mr. W. P. Reeves is a writer of elegant and polished verse: his "Canterbury Couplets" and "In Double Harness," both published conjointly with Mr. G. P. Williams, contain several pieces of considerable

merit; but his "Passing of the Forest" constitutes probably his best claim to inclusion in the short catalogue of New Zealand verse-writers. Mr. W. J. Steward (Justin Aubrey's) "Carmina Varia" is a collection of reflective poems more remarkable for facile versification than vigour of thought. Mr. Vincent Pyke, besides being the writer of several stirring tales of life on the Otago Gold Fields, produced some spirited verse, and was author of the Colony's national anthem.

The late Thomas Bracken probably ranks, after Domett, as the Colony's best writer of verse. A witty journalist and an erratic politician, he had a somewhat chequered career. He was an Irishman possessed of great personal charm; he had a rich vein of Keltic humour and Keltic sentiment; and he achieved in his lifetime much popularity and little success. In the words of his best and truest poem he was "Not Understood." "Behind the Tombs" and "Flowers of the Fenlands" were published by him while resident in Victoria. His New Zealand poems are contained in his "Lays of the Land of the Maori and the Moa." "Te Rauparaha" is the most ambitious; "The Waterfall" the most musical; and "Not Understood" the most poetical of his compositions.

Mr. George Phipps Williams, referred to above as partner with Mr. W. P. Reeves in two published collections of verse, is a genial satirist rather than a poet, though he handles metre with great skill. It is the comedy rather than the romance of colonial life that appeals to him. His verses are more racy of the soil, more true to local colouring, than most of the work of his contemporaries. They deal in the humours of the shearing-shed and the survey camp;

a keen sportsman himself, his racing rhymes are the best of their kind. As typical pictures of New Zealand station life may be instanced his amusing "New Chum's Letter Home" and his "Lines to a Pound Note," in which a "station hand" come to town to "knock down his cheque," humorously apostrophises a bank-note, "last of his race," and destined like its predecessors to "cross the bar."

Two ladies, Mrs. J. G. Wilson ("Austral") and Miss Mary Colborne-Veel, take rank with the best of our verse-writers. "Austral" has published a number of poems from time to time in "The Australasian," some of them of great beauty. The best of them are well known in England through their inclusion in Mr. Douglas Sladen's anthologies of Australian verse. Miss Colborne-Veel has contributed to the Christchurch *Weekly Press* many bright, witty and elegant copies of verse. Most of these are collected in a volume published in 1888.

The name of Arthur H. Adams closes the list of New Zealand poets in the century. He is the only one among them who has adopted literature as a profession; he is still under thirty, and, if his subsequent work fulfils the rich promise of what he has already published, he should take a good place in the ranks of literature. The first work that brought him into notice was the libretto of Mr. Alfred Hill's Cantata "Hinemoa," already referred to as the only musical composition that has so far achieved distinction in New Zealand. He has since written some plays and the libretto of an opera; and the Sydney "Bulletin" Company has just published a collection of his pieces, "Maori-land and other Verse." Some of his compositions are crude and juvenile; most of his "Love Motives" he will probably ex-

clude from his next collection. But he has a true ear for the melody of verse; he has the art of felicitous expression. He is an observant nature-student and his verse does full justice to the beauties of his native land. "The Graves of Our Dead" and "Written in Australia"—with its sweetly musical refrain,—exhibit these qualities at their best. Wherever his verse touches on New Zealand themes it glows with love and pride in the land that gave him birth; and his "Maori-land," in spite of the liberty he takes of re-naming his mother-land, is perhaps the most truly national poem in New Zealand.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE MAORI AT THE END OF THE CENTURY.

"THE Maori is going to his doom—dying of a broken heart." Such is the deliberate verdict of one of the most sympathetic students of the Maori problem upon the fate of his own race. In the sudden conflict between the forces of a highly organised civilisation and the customs and prejudices of a barbarous though noble race, he sees no other issue than the fateful operation of the natural law that decrees extinction to the weaker. The Maori is confronted with a new social system the spirit of which he only dimly understands; baffled by the definite dogmas of a new religion alien to the mystical genius of his race; conquered by the pakeha in war, still more hopelessly beaten in the rivalries of peace; and he vaguely realises that his old ideals are slipping from him, that he is losing the virtues of the conquered race and acquiring only the vices of the conquering; and foresees, with the instinctive pessimism of a highly imaginative temperament, his own posterity dying off the face of the earth.

The outlook for the race is undoubtedly gloomy. The census returns are the reverse of encouraging. The first estimate was made in 1857, when the numbers of the race were returned at 56,000. But this estimate was probably much over the mark. Since 1881 the work of taking a census has been attended

with less difficulty; and the figures for the last four quinquennial periods are as follows:

1881	44,097
1886	41,969
1891	41,993
1896	39,854

It would thus appear that during these fifteen years there had been a decrease of 4,243 souls. It must be remembered, however, that the difficulties of accurate enumeration are still very great. The work has to be extended over several weeks, instead of being done, as in the case of Europeans, in one night. In many districts—the "King Country," in particular—the natives object to making returns, connecting the census enumeration in some way with their *bête noire*, the dog-tax. But, even if every allowance is made for error, there is little room to doubt that the Maori population, for the time at any rate, shows a marked downward tendency.

The chief causes of the decline are the prevalence of social vices, disregard of sanitation, and unfavourable economic conditions.

Among the Maoris there is practically no-courtship; a marriage is only a temporary arrangement, terminable at the whim of either party. A marriage is arranged for a young couple by their elders; land or tribal interests are alone regarded in the choice and the wishes of bride and bridegroom are never consulted. The result of these marriages is almost invariably adultery and desertion; and the great majority of Maori children are born in *moepuka* or concubinage. The sexual immorality associated with such a system has its natural outcome in decline of population; the consanguineous alliances so com-

mon among them tend in the same direction; while of the children born, an exceptionally small proportion survive infancy.

In matters of sanitation, Captain Cook found that most Maori *pas* (villages) would compare more than favourably with many large cities of Europe in his time. In the days of tribal wars, elevated positions were naturally selected for purposes of defence; and every isolated hill or promontory in the North Island has at one time or another been the site of a *pa* or citadel. The dwellings, Cook found, were separated by irregular passages of communication and open spaces for recreation; while regulations were strictly enforced to ensure the cleanliness of the village. All this has unfortunately changed. With the *pax Britannica* the Maori moved to lower grounds to be near his cultivations and the pas are now often pitched in depressed or swampy situations. The *wharepuni* or living house is a low-roofed, barn-like structure, seldom more than eight to ten feet high from ground to ridge-pole. There is but one door, only high enough to admit a man in a stooping position, and near the door is a small square aperture which serves the double purpose of window and chimney. Inside, huddled on unwholesome straw, parents and children, pigs and dogs, wage common war against the pest of vermin. The preservation of health under such conditions must be difficult enough at all times. But the evil is aggravated by occasional and spasmodic indulgence in the comforts of civilisation. A sale of land furnishes the Maori with cash for the time; a sitting of the Land Court takes him and his family to the nearest township. They attire themselves in European clothing—the women in tawdry and bright-coloured

finery, the men usually in quieter garb. They sleep for a while in European beds, and live for a time on European food. When the money is spent they return to the wharepuni and the pigs; when the clothes are worn out, they don again the ragged blanket or the tattered flax-mat. With a constitution thus rendered more susceptible to external influences, it is not to be wondered at that the Maori falls a ready prey to disease. Unfortunately, too, the labours of the missionaries have not succeeded in eradicating their superstitious belief in the powers of their priests; and the charms and incantations of the *Tohungas* are a poor substitute for medical science and skilled nursing in fighting the ravages of asthma and consumption.

Maori superstition and Maori conservatism are in fact the most serious obstacles in the way of the amelioration of the race. They are as a people impressionable, imitative, plastic. They adapt themselves with marvellous facility to the manners and customs of their white neighbours. But in most cases the adaptation is only temporary and superficial. Many of them take great delight in learning and reciting the Scriptures, and can argue on points of doctrine with all the subtlety of a Presbyterian Elder. But they regard the new religion rather as an abstraction to be studied than a rule of life to be followed; they listen to the parson and obey the *tohunga*. Their quick intelligence makes them apt scholars; and it is estimated that fully ninety per cent of the adult population can read and write; yet boys and girls, after spending four or five years at a boarding school and acquiring both the solid knowledge and the refined accomplishments which a liberal education can give, will, in a few months after their

return to their native pa, relapse, apparently without a regret, into sloth, dirt and barbarism. There are, of course, the many and notable exceptions. The Maori church has its Native as well as its European martyrs; and in the hearts of many Maoris the message of the Gospel has planted firm root. There are, too, many Maoris, who, in dress and manner, knowledge and culture, are indistinguishable from English gentlemen and gentlewomen. But the tendency to reversion is an ever-present danger; it is in the blood—this craving for the old, wild, free life, as irresistible almost as the weirdly mysterious calling of the ocean to Henrik's Ibsen's "Lady from the Sea."

"Happy-go-luckyism" is the apt phrase by which a student of native life describes the character of the Maori in its social and economic aspects. In many matters he is utterly improvident; it is either a feast or a famine with him. He invariably anticipates his land rents before they are due; and he invariably squanders his wages before they are earned. An inveterate gambler, he is passionately fond of horse-racing; in a tour through the "King Country" ten years ago, the writer found a race-course outside every village even in the most remote parts of the interior. With such proclivities the Maori naturally finds it hard to hold his own against white competitors. Yet he has enormous capacity for work—in spurts. Shearing, harvesting, gum-digging are intermittent employments in which he excels. But he is constitutionally averse from plodding and persistent industry. The communistic ownership which still obtains is a detriment to individual effort and a hindrance to the success of agricultural and pastoral pursuits. Throughout the

"King Country" and along the banks of the Wanganui River the traveller sees costly farm machinery or flax-milling plant rusting to decay, overgrown with fern and lichen. Purchased as the result of some spasmodic outburst of communal enthusiasm, the villagers soon tired of the costly toy, and what was every one's property was no one's care. There are cows in every *Kainga;* but it rarely occurs to their communal owners to milk them.

"The Natives of New Zealand," says Major Gudgeon, "have the minds of children and the passions of men." There is about them a naive simplicity, a joyous *insouciance* that never fail to charm in social intercourse with them. No aboriginal race anywhere in the world is so popular with its white neighbours. One likes them, as Desdemona says, "to live with them." The writer, at all events, has never experienced more graceful and cordial hospitality, more single-hearted kindness, than among Maoris in those parts of the North Island where they have been least contaminated by civilisation. The Maori is "of imagination all compact." His daily speech is rich in imagery; the very names he has given the features of his land breathe a rude poetry. Wai-atarua "Water of Twin Shadows," Kororeka "Beach of Shining Shells," Waiheke "Tumbling Waters," Ao-rang "Cloud in the Heaven"—how euphonious and how expressive! Yet we, Vandals of a later day, have displaced them by College Lake, Russell, Wilsonville, and Mount Cook! In Maori lore every mountain, lake, and stream has its romantic legend. The scarred, grim-visaged Ruapehu, still muttering in suppressed volcanic anger, is the masterful and jealous lover; pensive Taranaki, gracefully snow-draped, is the

timid maid who fled from his wrath to the shores of the Western sea; and her tears are the waters of the broad Wanganui. There is a strong vein of the Keltic in the Maori temperament. His delight in colour; his instinct for the picturesque; his moods, ever changing from laughter to tears, from gleeful mirth to pensive melancholy;—these are all Keltic. The *tangi* he holds over the dead is but a "wake" at the Antipodes; the *taniwhas,* with which his fancy peoples lake and stream, but "banshees" in a new guise; while his irresistible "blarney" is true Tipperary.

Keltic, too, is his sense of art. His legends and his songs, his weaving and his carving, are among the very highest achievements of primitive art. Maori carving takes its place among the greatest schools of conventional decorative art; his scroll-work,—the dominant pattern both in wood-carving and in the highly elaborate *Moku* or tattooing,—imitated originally from spiral forms evolved in plaiting the pliant flax, only falls short of the Ionic in perfection. Never representative, in the sense of imitating the forms of plant or animal life, the art of the Maori devoted itself wholly to the elaboration of strictly conventional types of ornamentation, and his canoes, his weapons, and his dwellings exhibit workmanship that embodies a high ideal of beauty and a true sense of line and curve.

Are there then no grounds for hope in the outlook for the Maori? Must this interesting race, with its robust physique, its vigorous intelligence, its artistic temperament, inevitably meet the fate that has already overtaken the aborigines of Tasmania and is as surely overtaking the Australian Blacks? On the contrary, we believe there are already agencies at

work that will ultimately check the process of decay. It is impossible to predict with certainty the continuance of the race; but it is absurd to regard its extinction as in some way mysteriously fated and inevitably foredoomed; or to utter scientific platitudes about the "survival of the fittest" without knowing or without remembering that the Maori, both physically and mentally, is essentially "fit." The decline in numbers may continue for a generation longer; perhaps even for two. But those who then survive will have assimilated the lessons of civilisation and have shaken off the influences of barbarism. With renewed vitality and restored hope, they will start the race on its upward career, and the Maoris will not merely continue their existence as a people but will contribute abiding elements of strength to the national life of the "Britain of the South."

Education is the most potent of the agencies that make for amelioration, and, happily, education, in its scholastic sense at least, is making rapid progress among the Maoris. Wherever the people of a *Kainga* are willing to receive a schoolmaster, the Government are ready to send one. It is not yet practicable to make education compulsory among them. But there are already 74 native village schools where some 2,500 Maori children receive free primary education; others attend European schools in the vicinity of settlements, and there are in all some four thousand Maori children receiving education in the colony. The dusky scholars prove apt pupils; they have retentive memories and a facile gift of drawing and penmanship. The best class of men are not always available for native schools; and Maori teachers are unfortunately viewed with prejudice and dislike. The grounds of that prejudice

furnish a curious illustration of one of the many difficulties to be met with in the Maori character. A Maori of rank would resent having his child "spanked" by a native pedagogue if his pedigree were not as long or his blood as blue as the offending urchin's, and the Native Education Department hesitates to employ Maori teachers from fear of reviving tribal feuds. For the Maori, though a communist as to property, is, in social matters, an unbending aristocrat.

There are seven endowed or state-aided boarding schools in the colony where some two hundred Maoris receive education of a more advanced character than that given in the village schools. The most notable of these is the Te Aute College in the Hawkes Bay district. Founded some twenty years ago, it now ranks as one of the best secondary schools, Maori or English, in the colony. In a merely scholastic sense the College has been remarkably successful. Many of its boys matriculate and proceed to the University; one of them, Mr. Apirana Turupu Ngata, M.A., LL.B., has attained the highest academic honours yet won by any of his race; several have been ordained clergymen; others are engaged in law offices or hold posts in the Civil Service. But Te Aute College has higher aims than mere intellectual culture: it takes for its object the moral and social elevation of the race; and as a centre from which "sweetness and light" is slowly but surely spreading among the Maori people, it is, in the wide mediæval sense of the word, a Maori "University."

Some few years ago Te Aute College set on foot a movement that, if generously supported and wisely directed, is capable of doing more than any other agency for the betterment of the race. It gave birth

to "The Young Maori Party." A number of earnest and patriotic Maoris, deeply impressed with the fate that is threatening their race and fired with zeal to avert it, banded together as the "Te Aute College Students' Association." It has now been in active operation for four years and its labours have already borne abundant fruit. By means of papers read before the Annual Conferences they seek to educate public opinion, both native and European, to the needs of the race, and these essays on Maori sociology by Maori writers constitute the most valuable contributions so far made to the literature of the question.*

The members go among their people lecturing on cleanliness and sanitation; where they can, they get the villagers to set up Committees of Health. They find employment for native boys leaving school, to prevent their reversion to the habits of the pa; and they have set up Maori Labour Bureaus in various centres. They endeavour to procure the training of Maori nurses and Maori doctors; they agitate for the establishment of technical schools and seek to instruct the Maoris in the principles of farming. They realise that if the Maoris are to survive competition with the new industrial civilisation—they must work; that if education is to be a permanent benefit—they must work. "The gospel of work," writes Mr. Ngata with impressive earnestness, "is final, absolute; there is no alternative for us but to accept it. For if the Maori people does not accept

* The writer desires to make grateful acknowledgement for much information derived from these papers: in particular from the Essays by Rev. H. Williams, and by Messrs. Reweti Kohere, T. G. Potutawera, and Apirana Turupu Ngata.

it, and that soon, then as sure as Heaven is above us, it will die off from the face of the earth."

There are happily unmistakable signs that the Maoris are at length beginning to accept this Gospel of work. The enumerators of the last census find that many more Maoris than formerly are working for Europeans. In the South Island, where, however, only some two thousand Maoris are settled, most of the natives are reported as prosperous and industrious. The Ngati Porou tribe on the East Coast of the North Island have taken to communal sheep-farming with some success.

The greatest obstacle to agricultural progress among the Maoris is gradually breaking down. The Native Lands Court, a cumbrous and expensive piece of machinery, has been engaged for thirty years in the complicated work of determining and registering Maori land titles by reference to native custom. With the individualisation of titles thus effected, the communistic system of ownership is quietly yet surely breaking up. With the dissolution of the common village life will come the growth of stronger independent effort. The Maori, at least in these degenerate days, is constitutionally indolent; he needs, even more than his white neighbour, the "magic of property" to make him "turn sand into gold." Once secure to him the fruits of his individual toil, and there is no reason why the Maori should not become a hardworking and prosperous farmer. With the break-up of communism, moreover, the family will gradually become the real unit of tribal life; with the privacy of home life, moral conventions will spring into existence, sexual relations will become more decent, and Maori society be reconstructed on a sounder, healthier basis.

The "Model Pa," dreamed of by the Te Aute reformers, has still only an Utopian existence. The *tohungas* and the *wharepuni* oppose a stubborn resistance to the progress of medicine and sanitation. But even in these respects the Maori is advancing. Weather-board cottages, built on the European principles, are replacing the native *whares* in the more prosperous settlements; and if the visitor is occasionally distressed by finding a pig in the kitchen, after seeing a piano in the parlour, he is consoled by reflecting that these dwellings are at least furnished with windows and chimneys. And as their dwellings become better ventilated, so is their food becoming more wholesome. Putrid maize soaked in stagnant water, and morsels of dried shark's flesh carried about for weeks in the same pocket as a plug of "Maori tobacco," are still delicacies highly relished by the old men. They are happily long since become "caviare to the general"; and mutton or pork, leeks and potatoes are regarded by the younger generation as a more nutritious diet.

Parihaka, the "Mecca" of the prophet Te Whiti, and scene of the "demonstration in force" in 1881, is perhaps the most conspicuous instance among Maori *Kaingas* of this progress in sanitation and domestic architecture. When Mr. Bryce's "army" approached Parihaka through swamps and scrub they found it an ordinary *pa* whose *whares* of *toi toi* and *raupo* reeds contained even more than the ordinary amount of dirt. But, in 1896, before Te Whiti's death, a Te Aute student went there on a tour of inspection, and in a paper * written for his Association, he records his impressions of "Parihaka

* *Te Whiti and Parihaka*, by Mr. P. Buck.

Revisited." He approached the pa by a Macadamised bye-road, laid out, levelled, and metalled by the Maoris themselves at their own cost. Nestling in a hollow among the hills lay the township, a collection of well-built wooden houses, with iron roofs. On a terrace overlooking the village stood Te Whiti's residence;—furnished with dining-rooms and bath-rooms, fitted up in the best European style. Parihaka has its public bakery, its abattoirs, and its Town Hall. The people take their meals in two large public dining-rooms. The larger of these will accommodate over a hundred guests at a time; the crockery and table-ware are scrupulously clean; and though bakers and butchers are natives, the *chef* is a European "artist." On the 17th of each month, the "Sunday" in Te Whiti's Calendar, the room is filled again and again with crowds of hungry "pilgrims to the shrine," who discuss their food and their theology to the strains of a brass band of some thirty performers. The smaller of the two public dining-rooms, the *Ruakura,* is reserved for the *élite* of Maori society. The young reformer noted with much concern the existence of two billiard-rooms and two illicit drinking-saloons as blemishes on this picture of civilised Maoridom. But the cleanliness of Parihaka was evidently grateful to his heart. Since his visit, a system of water supply and the installation of electric light has brought Te Whiti's pa into line with the most advanced ideas of municipal improvement.

But it is not to be supposed that Parihaka is a typical pa. To understand fully the life of the Maori at the end of the century, with its bizarre admixture of barbarism and civilisation, it would be necessary to visit many pas and to come into contact

with many tribes. It is possible, however, to form a general conception of Maori society, in its external aspects at least, by attending a Maori "Parliament." These are gatherings held from time to time in different parts of the North Island. They have, of course, neither legal nor political status; they are informal assemblies called by the chiefs for the purpose of ventilating some grievance or discussing some proposed legislation. They are an extremely popular institution; and are sometimes attended by two or three thousand Maoris, drawn from a distance, often, of several hundred miles. The attraction for the Maoris lies in the opportunity for indulging their innate love of talking and for exercising their great natural gifts of oratory; for they love speech-making, if that be possible, even more than horse-racing. It is the ambition of every Kainga to be, at least once in its history, the meeting place of a "Parliament"; and in order to enjoy the coveted honour, the villagers will gladly feed two or three thousand guests for a week on end, and as cheerfully starve themselves for the next three years in consequence.

In the summer of 1891 the writer and a friend were present at a "Parliament" at Parakino, on the Wanganui.

For two days we had paddled down the great forest river; past the island of Moutua where Haimona Hiroti and his gallant friendlies fought the good fight with the Hau-Hau madmen; over swirling rapids which the canoe skims like a sea-mew while the Maori steersman laughs with glee at the white face of his pakeha passenger; under blue-grey papa cliffs, with here and there a village perched in a forest clearing, Atene, Coriti, Ranana,—Athens, Corinth, London, the Jesuit missionaries with sly

humour named them. Here the cliffs rise sheer a hundred feet or more; there river and forest meet at the water's edge and the banks are a tangled glory of fern and moss and lichen. Here a streamlet bustles through rustling flax or fern to join the river; there it tumbles headlong over the cliff and tosses its glittering spray upon the water. From the depths of the forest comes the liquid song of the parson bird; while over the water come the voices of women chanting their wai-ata, or boatsong, as they paddle with rhythmic grace down the reaches of the river.

> " Land of forests richly sweeping
> By the rata's red fire spangled;
> Where at noonday night is sleeping,
> Where beneath the creepers tangled
> Come the tui's liquid calls
> And the plash of water-falls." *

Lower down the river, but before it broadens out on the plain and while yet the bush-clad hills enclose it, lies Parakino, a small hamlet perched on the left bank, which is here so high and steep that the villagers descend to their canoes by ladders or by steps cut in the cliff-face. At ordinary times there are probably not more than 200 souls in Parakino; this day there were close upon two thousand, camped in tents upon the hillsides or close-packed in the smoky whares. They had travelled from far and near to be present at the "Parliament"; many had come down stream in their canoes; some had come by train and river-steamer from the Wairarapa Valley; others had ridden, men and women, a hundred and fifty miles or more from the settlements in the Hawkes Bay district.

We arrived on the last day of the "Parliament"

* Arthur H. Adams, *Maoriland and other Verse.*

and heard the closing Korero (talk). The meeting, fortunately, was not held in the reeking Runanga House, but in the open air. The spectators were squatted on the ground in a ring—a motley crowd. Here a mother, in cotton petticoat of brilliant red or orange, her baby slung in a shawl across her shoulders, puffed at her clay pipe and blew the reek into the eyes of her piccaninny; there an old man, his wrinkled face tattooed like a carpet pattern, huddled in a *Korowai* mat, ruminating his quid of shark's flesh; young bucks, with plated spurs and meerschaum pipes, ogled the bright-eyed, flat-nosed belles of the village, beribboned and bedizened in their bravest finery. But the crowd was orderly and attentive; the slightest disturbance was immediately quelled by a fierce-looking hunchback, who, armed with a dissonant dinner-bell, acted "Sergeant-at-arms" to the "Parliament."

The three speakers who brought the debate to a close were strikingly typical, one of civilisation, one of barbarism, and the third of a grotesque compound of both. The first was a perfect type of a polished Maori gentleman, Tunuiarangi—his name itself a patent of nobility. He was a singularly handsome man, past middle age, with a military bearing and a fine distinction of manner; every feature stamped him an aristocrat. Each detail of his dress—his silk-hat, his well-fitting frock coat, his gold pince-nez and his suede gloves—was suggestive of fastidious elegance. He would have passed in London for a sunburned Anglo-Indian, tailorised in Bond Street. His style in speaking was fluent and impressive yet reposeful; the rich vowel-sounds of his language were uttered in a pleasing and musical voice; except for an occasional graceful movement with the right

hand, he used no gesture. The next speaker, Te Kirikau, was a man of a totally different stamp; but he, too, was a noble and notable Maori. An old man, he evidently belonged also to the old school. His face was scarred with Moku patterns, and from his right ear depended, by a black silk ribbon, a huge greenstone pendant and a shark's tooth. He had so far compromised with civilisation as to wear a European suit of clothes; but over his shoulders drooped gracefully a Korowai or flax-mat, covered with strips of dog-skin. In his hand he held a *taiaha*, the six-foot wooden spear, elaborately carved, which the chiefs of old used equally in war and debate, to slay a foe or accentuate an argument. He spoke with burning vehemence, his voice rising and falling in rhythmic modulation, his flowing periods punctuated by stamp of foot or flourish of taiaha; scorn and anger, humour and pity played alternately on his rugged yet expressive features; and when he concluded he left his audience thrilled with excitement in which even his English hearers, without understanding him, visibly shared. The strain was soon relieved by the next speaker, regarded evidently as the comedian of the assembly. He too, was fluent enough—*Isaeo torrentior*,—what Maori is not?—but he neither was nor sought to be impressive. His Maori hearers laughed at his jokes, the Europeans found more to smile at in his costume. His head was covered by a broad panama hat, with a light-blue puggery around it; he further protected himself from the sun by a lady's parasol; on his feet were a pair of tight-fitting patent-leather boots; but between these extremities he wore one garment only, remarkable more for simplicity than warmth,—a white cotton night-shirt.

Two men, notable in Maori history, were present at this parliament and their meeting was strikingly significant of the conflict of the Old and the New in this transition stage of Maori society, Kepa Te Rangi-Hiwinui (Major Kemp) and Te Kooti. Kemp had, from the first, foreseen the inevitable issue of the struggle between barbarism and civilisation and had thrown his weight into the heavier scale. A loyal chief and gallant soldier of the Queen, his name will be remembered as one of the staunchest friends of the English in the long and bitter struggle. Te Kooti remained to the last the daring and stubborn champion of his own people; and his association with the Poverty Bay Massacre makes his name still execrated in the North. But the Government had amnestied his offences; and now Kemp the loyalist and Te Kooti the rebel met on a common footing. The "Parliament" concluded with a *haka* or war-dance. Night was far advanced before the dancers had concluded their preparations and rehearsal. At length they issued from the Runanga House—sixty to seventy magnificient savages, naked but for their loin-mats, and with their bodies fantastically painted in white and red pigments. Te Kooti, old as he was, took his place as leader; and a band of women joined as auxiliaries. These intoned a weird, monotonous chant and then the first movement of the dance began. They kept time with a precision which only incessant practice from childhood could have taught them. They rolled their heads, moved their hands backwards and forwards with a quivering motion, smote their breasts and stamped their feet, protruded their tongues and cried their hoarse defiance, gasping and gurgling in a frenzy of excitement, and all with a perfect rhythm

of sound and action. The women looked like inspired Sibyls, the men like infuriated demons. In the flickering light of the flambeaux it reminded one of the dance of the witches that Tam O'Shanter saw through the windows of Alloway Kirk. At the close of the dance, Te Kooti and Kemp exchanged presents and good wishes and parted to meet no more on this side Reinga. Both have since died.

The resolution at which the natives arrived as the result of a week's *Korero* was the customary one which no Maori "Parliament" ever fails to pass—and pass unanimously: that the Natives shall sell no more lands to the *pakeha*. The Government official, who was present to watch and report the proceedings, had, during a period of ten years, heard the same resolution passed unanimously half-a-dozen times by as many different "parliaments"; during the same period he had purchased over four million acres of native lands for the state. The Maoris realise the importance of retaining their lands; but the temptation of ready cash proves too strong for their patriotism. Since 1894 the Government has resumed the original right of pre-emption, established in the Treaty of Waitangi, but waived in 1867. This protects the Maori from the depredations of "land-sharks" or private speculators; but the exclusion of competition enables the Government to buy at its own price. The more thoughtful Maoris approve of the present administration of the Land Purchase Department; but they are agitating for legislation to compel the Maoris to reserve from alienation land sufficient for the maintenance of themselves and their families. Such legislation would not be regarded as an undue interference with the liberty of the Maori subject; and would effectually protect him

from the disastrous results of his own improvident folly.

These Maori meetings have in the past been productive of little good. Informal in their character and haphazard in their constitution, their deliberations and resolutions have had little effect either on Maori opinion or on the trend of Colonial legislation. There are, however, proposals at present before the Houses of Parliament for giving the Natives some measure of local government. An *imperium in imperio* would be a manifest absurdity; and it is not intended to give the Maoris political power independent of the colonial legislature. But it is proposed to set up Native Committees to deal with purely native questions of a social, sanitary and municipal character. And this measure of Maori Home Rule may do much towards restoring to the race its impaired self-respect and pride of nationality. It is in fact the response to a spontaneous movement among the Natives themselves in favour of unity—*Kotahitanga*—national oneness. The old tribal enmities still exist. The Ngatiporou have not forgotten the raids of the Ngapuhi; the Waikato tribes are still regarded with lingering dislike. But the old grudges grow weaker year by year; for civilisation presses with the same relentless force on all the race, irrespective of tribe or *hapu*. Though the movement may owe its origin to a patched-up peace in the face of political exigencies, it represents an underlying conception of the fusion of tribes and the obliteration of old jealousies. Should it result in the growth of a genuine national sentiment, the movement is pregnant with possibilities for the Maori. The social isolation of the *hapus* has led to stagnation and poverty of blood; the *Kotahitanga*

will result in intercommunication and conjugal alliances that may restore the languishing vitality of the race. Their political isolation has led to waste of effort and ineffectual agitation; the *Kotahitanga* will erect them into a political unit able to speak with one voice and act with one will. The *Kotahitanga* is a new factor in the solution of the Maori problem. It may enable the race to snatch from the new civilisation something of its buoyancy, and to float on the eddying current that now threatens to engulf it.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE ISLAND RACE.

"Once more this autumn Earth is ripe,
Parturient of another type."

THE New Zealanders have not yet developed characteristic traits sufficiently marked to make them distinguishable from other members of the Anglo-Saxon family. The Island Race is still in its cradle; and it would be rash to describe as distinctive the features of babyhood. It is only safe at present to assert that it is a remarkably healthy infant and strongly resembles its parents. But we know its ancestry; we know the nursery in which it will be reared, the school in which it will be trained; and we may, without temerity, predict for it a happy, a vigorous, and even a glorious manhood. The dusky navigators from Hawaiiki, who settled in these islands, grew, in the course of three centuries, to a stature of mind and body which no branch of the Polynesian race has approached elsewhere. What limits, then, can we assign to the possible development of an off-shoot of the Anglo-Saxon race in the same natural environment? "If it is written in the book of destiny," said Froude, "that the English nation has still within it great men who will take their place among the demigods, I can well believe that it will be in the inexhaustible soil and spiritual capabilities of New Zealand that the great

English poets, artists, philosophers, statesmen, soldiers of the future will be nurtured."

The New Zealanders are essentially a British stock; not English or Scotch or Irish, but all three. For these elements intermingle much more completely here than in the population of the United Kingdom. It is true the Canterbury province is still more decidedly English and the Otago province still more decidedly Scotch than other parts of the colony. But the traces thus left of their original settlement by English and Scotch associations are fast disappearing. The stock from which the New Zealanders are sprung is not only British, but the best British. The pioneers brought out by the original colonising associations were the very pick of their class; and though less discrimination was used in selecting State-aided immigrants in the days of the Public Works Policy, the yeomen and artisans who decided to seek their fortunes in the Antipodes were necessarily possessed of courage and enterprise and will-power in a degree above the average of their neighbours. Nor had New Zealand, like some of the other colonies, a "birthstain" to turn to good, "forcing strong wills, perverse, to steadfastness."

Of the total population of 740,000 whites, more than half are already native-born. The British element amounts to 97 per cent of the whole; and of the 19,000 foreigners at present settled in the colony the majority are either Germans, Scandinavians, or Danes,—cousins in blood to the Anglo-Saxons and, next to them, probably the most successful colonising nations. The only undesirable element in the population is the Chinese. Of these there are at present 3,464 living in the colony; but they do not

mingle socially or industrially with the rest of the population; less than 100 of them have wives; and their numbers are rapidly decreasing;—while any further influx is barred by the sufficiently drastic expedient of a poll-tax of £100 on all new arrivals.

So far as the development of a race is influenced by the natural features of the land in which it is reared, the New Zealanders are abundantly blessed. They do not wither under the copper skies of Australian noons or peak in the muggy heat of Australian nights. The climate is much like that in the land from which their fathers came, sunnier only and less rigorous in its winters. More than half of them live within sound of the sea; and very few of them are more than a day's journey from the ocean. The broken coast, with its infinite variety of bays and fiords and harbours, will be the nursery of a race of seafarers. New Zealand shepherds muster their flocks in summer on mountains which the tourist attacks in winter armed with rope and alpenstock. Her mountains, with their glaciers and cañons and cascades, rival in grandeur the Alps of Switzerland; Norway has no finer fiords than the West Coast Sounds; her geysers and volcanoes far surpass the wonders of Iceland. Nature has lavished on the home of the New Zealanders all that goes to harden the thews and quicken the imagination of a race.

More than two-thirds of the entire population live in the country or in villages with less than 5,000 inhabitants.* In several of the Australian colonies nearly half of the population is concentrated in their capital cities. The geographical configuration

* *The Long White Cloud*, W. P. Reeves.

of the country and the circumstances of its settlement have, happily, saved New Zealand from this fate. There is no marked tendency here for population to become congested in cities. There are in fact no cities. Wellington is the capital, inasmuch as it is the seat of Government. But Auckland, Christchurch and Dunedin exceed it in population and rival it in commercial importance. The population of these four centres ranges from 47,000 to 63,000. New Zealand is thus without a metropolis, and seems likely to remain so. It loses thereby the advantage of having an urban centre of culture and fashion. But it gains in provincial simplicity of life and in the health of its inhabitants. Even in the towns population is spread over a large area. "Slums" are practically unknown in them. The people live, not in flats, or courts, or "semi-detached tenements," but in cottages and villas with plenty of open space and garden-ground around them; the proportion of people to each house is less than five.* It is not surprising, under such circumstances, that the death-rate in New Zealand (9.84 per 1000) is lower than in any of the Australian Colonies or in any of the Countries of Europe; that the average New Zealand man is a sturdy, strong-knit, fresh-faced Briton; and that the average New Zealand woman, if inferior in grace of carriage and delicacy of hue to her English sister, is usually, like Tennyson's women in "The Princess," "blowsed with health."

In the matter of religion, the New Zealanders are, like all Anglo-Saxons, eclectic; some sixty to seventy varieties of believers and non-believers are specified in the census returns. There is, of course,

* *The Long White Cloud*, W. P. Reeves.

no State church, the various denominations being self-supporting; the ministry is, in consequence, probably the worst paid profession in the colony. The adherents of the Church of England number 40 per cent of the population; Presbyterians 22 per cent; Roman Catholic 14 per cent, and Methodists 10 per cent. About one fourth of the population appear to attend places of worship,—of which there are close upon 2,000 in the colony. Though the State System of education is purely secular, 116,000 persons are attendants at Sunday Schools.

The New Zealanders, judged by statistics, may fairly be described as a sober, law-abiding people. From the zeal of the advocates for Prohibition of the Liquor Traffic, a question that has been a disturbing element in the politics of the last decade, it might be inferred that drunkenness is a serious national vice. Tested, however, both by the National "Drink Bill," and by the percentage of convictions in the Courts for drunkenness, New Zealand compares more than favourably with most other portions of the Empire. Gambling is a more widespread habit; the law prohibits sweepstakes and regards the book-maker with dislike; but the State does not scruple to draw revenue by a tax on the "totalisator,"—an automatic betting machine in use on all New Zealand race-courses; and even the acquisition of "land for the people," on the free selection principle, is a legalised gamble, the claims of applicants for sections being determined by balloting.

By far the most serious social evil, however,—one by which the development of the race is gravely threatened,—is that indicated in the vital statistics for the colony. The birth-rate has been steadily de-

creasing since 1881. In that year it stood at 37.3 per 1000; in 1898, at 25.7. In all the colonies the number of children to a marriage tends to decrease. But while, in 1880, New Zealand had the highest birth-rate of all the Australasian colonies, it has now, with the exception of South Australia, the lowest. The proportion of illegitimate births, moreover, shows an increase, having risen from 3.12 per cent in 1886 to 4.48 per cent in 1896.

Progress and Poverty, happily, do not go hand in hand in New Zealand. With a population of under three quarters of a million, the aggregate private wealth amounts to £170,000. This represents £238 per head—an average surpassed in Great Britain, indeed, but not equalled by any foreign nation. New Zealand has a poor, but not a pauper, class,—none, practically, of those who, descendants of paupers, are themselves begetters of paupers. On the other hand, there are no millionaires, and very few private incomes reach to £10,000 a year. New Zealanders occupy the enviable position of enjoying the largest average income of any people in the world, and, in spite of the cheapness of provisions, they spend annually more money on food, drink and clothing than any other people, the average per head being £35 as compared with £32 in the United States and £29 in the United Kingdom. Lavish in their expenditure, they are yet by no means reckless of the future; £5,000,000 lodged in the Savings Banks represent the savings of thrifty people belonging for the most part to the wage-earning and professional classes.* Perhaps

* The writer is indebted for most of these statistics to "Addresses" by Mr. E. W. Roper, President of the Canterbury Chamber of Commerce, 1896-7.

the best proof of the combination of high spending-power and thrift among the New Zealanders, and, consequently, of the general prosperity, is the significant fact that the amount paid per head of population in racing stakes, and the amount paid per head of population in Life Assurance Premiums, are alike the highest in the world.

Nor is the well-being of the New Zealander to be measured merely by a monetary standard. Democracy is here in a fair way to realising the high ideal: a free career to all the talents. The New Zealander with ability has fewer obstacles than most men in bringing his personal qualifications to market. The State provides for his education in his earlier years; if he has brains and application above the average, he may go through a course of secondary education, still without cost; while the University includes among its most distinguished graduates men who possessed but the narrowest means. The *res angusta domi,* of which Juvenal wrote with so much bitterness, is not here an insuperable obstacle to a successful life. The learned professions, law, journalism, teaching and the Church, oppose no barriers to a man of brains, nor, for that matter, with the exception of the last, to a woman either. Perhaps the most striking illustration of the "open door policy" to talent adopted in New Zealand is the career of the present premier, the Hon. R. J. Seddon, P.C. With few advantages of education and none of wealth, he began life in New Zealand as a working miner on the West Coast Diggings; finding brains more profitable than muscle and the tongue a better instrument than the shovel, he soon became the agent and adviser of his fellow miners and their advocate in the Warden's Court. His

sterling qualities gained their complete confidence; and, after some preliminary experience in the conduct of local affairs, he was chosen to represent the Kumara Electorate in the House of Representatives. His career in Parliament was marked by the same success, and he has now filled the post of Premier for more than seven years, a longer period of office than has fallen to the lot of any other colonial premier; while his wise statesmanship in connection with New Zealand's assistance in the Transvaal War has extended his reputation beyond the limits of the colony. There could be no more striking example of the facility with which a man of true "grit" can force his way to the front in New Zealand than the triumphant progress of Richard Seddon from Digger's Hut to Privy Council.

Probably the majority of the colonists who have been most successful in commerce, the professions or public life had humble origins. All things are possible here to the *sapiens;* he is potentially "*Sutor et bonus et solus formosus et est rex.*" One of our legislators spends his leisure in lighting the street-lamps in the borough he represents in Parliament; another, in the intervals of Parliamentary duties, follows the avocation of a cobbler. The colony, too, can boast its Cincinnatus. One of the members of the Upper House of the legislature is by trade a boiler-maker; when he was "called to the Lords" the messenger, bearing the Governor's warrant of appointment, found him inside a boiler, in a suit of rusty dungaree, manfully hammering at the rivets.

The New Zealanders are great travellers; there is probably no part of the world where sea-travelling is so common and so frequent among all classes of

the community. The geographical configuration of the country and the distribution of its urban population in four centres, Auckland and Wellington in the North Island, Christchurch and Dunedin in the South, are of course responsible for this. The Senate of the University, the Synods, Assemblies and Conferences of different churches; the annual gatherings of Friendly Societies, Sports, Associations, Commercial organisations—all of these are peripatetic, and yearly draw large numbers of people to each of the principal towns in turn. Athletic contests alone are responsible for hundreds of young men making sea-trips every year. An Aucklander thinks nothing of taking steamer to Dunedin merely to play in a football match, though the journey takes nearly as long as the passage from Liverpool to New York. This cannot be without great influence in making the race quick-witted, sociable and self-reliant; while the constant intercommunication between different parts of the colony prevents the growth of provincial peculiarities. The average New Zealander is indistinguishable from the average Englishman; but the extremes between which the average is struck are here less divergent. The professional man is not so well tailorised; the woman in society not so elegantly gowned, as in England; but the working classes are much better dressed here; the maid frequently wears finer clothes than her mistress; and shop and factory girls in New Zealand often ride to business on bicycles. Froude found the New Zealanders characterised by a "certain republican equality of manners." Social distinctions are now more marked than in the days of the pioneer settlers. The time is gone by when "station-hands" swore at their bullock-teams in Greek;

when the driver of the stage-coach quoted Virgil to the Bishop on the box; or when the ostler who groomed your horse proved to be an "unfortunate nobleman." Incidents such as that of a Judge of the Supreme Court finding himself unable to go home from a ball as early as he wished, because, as he explained to his host, "Your daughter is dancing with my cabby"—no longer occur in New Zealand society. The "classes" have somehow managed to sort themselves in the Colony; but there is between them, as yet, no "great gulf fixed," which cannot be bridged by the discreetly ambitious.

The New Zealanders have so far remained more distinctly English than, perhaps, is the case in some of the larger colonies. The literature they read is, with the exception of the local newspapers, almost entirely English; all classes, whether immigrant or native-born, habitually speak of the United Kingdom as "Home." There are so far no alarming signs of a colonial "twang" or of dialectic peculiarities in their speech. A few expressive terms have been adopted into daily speech from Maori—*whare* (a hut), *pa* (a village), and *mana* (prestige) are examples; some few mining terms have been imported from California; certain words relating to pastoral pursuits are Australian; but a New Zealander's English is still the Queen's English and he has happily so far evinced no ambition to be considered original either in his slang or his orthography. In their sports, too, as in all things else, the New Zealanders are consistently loyal to British traditions. All British games are played in the colony, and are played under British rules; there has been no attempt here as in some other colonies to vary the rules of sport from accepted English standards, and

the few foreign games that have been introduced from time to time have died young.

The "Eight-hours day" established by custom, and the weekly half-holiday enforced by law, leave the New Zealanders abundant leisure for physical and mental recreation. They are quite as fond as the Australians of outdoor sports, though they have not yet, like them, won distinction on the cricket-fields of England. If any one form of outdoor recreation is entitled to the distinction of being regarded as the national sport, it must be horse-racing. Maoris and Britons are alike keen devotees of the turf. The N. Z. Turf Register records the names of more than 80 Racing and Trotting Clubs throughout the Colony. During the year 1898–9 they held no less than 234 meetings and paid in stakes £107,000; probably the highest average per head of population in any part of the world. The popularity of the sport has resulted in the breeding of a very fine stamp of horse; while the race-meetings themselves are the occasion of the most important social gatherings in the life of the colonists. The majority of country-bred New Zealanders are good horsemen, as some of them have recently proved in the South African War; polo is much played, especially in the North Island; and in some of the provinces there is fair hunting, though only with what Mr. Jorrocks calls the "currant-jelly hounds"; for foxes have not been imported.

The Acclimatisation Societies have been the means of providing excellent sport in the way of trout-fishing. Trout weighing from 7 to 10 lbs. are common in many of the rivers, while the New Zealand "record for the rod" is a trout weighing 25 lbs. Grey duck; pukaki (swamp hens) and wood

pigeons; deer, wild pigs and wild cattle, furnish the shooting. Cricket does not attain as high a standard of excellence here as in Australia; but the football on the other hand is better. Rowing has not yet reached the position it ought to occupy among the Island Race; most of our large rivers are too rapid and our harbours too boisterous to make good regatta-courses. Considering the character of our mountain scenery, too, Alpine climbing has not yet attained the popularity as a sport that might be expected. The honour of attaining the summit of Aorangi (Mt. Cook, 12,349 feet) fell to an American mountaineer (Fitzgerald) in 1894. Yet the pioneers of New Zealand Alpine climbing were native-born, and Messrs. Guy Mannering and Marmaduke Dixon may fairly claim the honour of having practically accomplished the first ascent of the mountain; for, in 1890, without professional guides or adequate appliances and experience, they succeeded in reaching the ice-cap on Aorangi, which is much like being on the topmost rung of a ladder and yet not on the projections above that step.

Democrats in their local politics, the New Zealanders are yet Imperialist to a man. Party dissensions are sometimes acute; party controversies are often bitter. But the grounds of difference are purely local; on all questions that affect the position of the colony as a unit of the Empire there is ever but one party. It was the great national consecration of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897 that first brought home to the hearts of the native-born the full sense of their national heritage; they realised that they were "citizens of no mean city." And if that event reminded them of their privileges, the Transvaal War has taught them their responsibili-

ties. The Parliament of New Zealand was the first in all the self-governing colonies to offer troops for service in South Africa. The response of the New Zealanders to the Empire's call to arms was as enthusiastic as it was unanimous. Of the five "Contingents" despatched to the seat of war, amounting altogether to more than a thousand men,—a large quota from a small civilian population,—two were armed, equipped and horsed and transported to the scene of hostilities entirely at the private charge of loyal settlers. The rights or wrongs of the Transvaal War New Zealanders did not stay to question; it will live in their history as a great event that taught them, even to their own surprise, how loyal they are to the Empire of which they form a part.

For federation in the merely political sense, they care nothing. Possibly the tendency to knit the British nation into groups, Canada, Australia, South Africa, may draw them, in course of time, into the new-born Australian Commonwealth. More probably New Zealand's insular position, her self-contained and self-reliant national life, will keep her fixed in her present intention of independent development. Her rich natural heritage will not be lightly bartered for a share in the Continental Commonwealth. Hers is too strong an individuality to be absorbed in any federation short of the Imperial.

STATISTICAL APPENDIX.*

THE PROGRESS OF NEW ZEALAND SINCE 1875.

1. At the close of 1875, twenty years after the establishment of Responsible Government, and just 10 months before the Provincial Governments were established, New Zealand had a population of 375,900 souls exclusive of Maoris, and by the beginning of 1900 it had more than doubled itself. During the interval the growth was as follows:

1880	484,900
1885	575,200
1890	625,500
1895	698,700
1900	756,500

The Maoris numbered 40,000 in April, 1896, the date of the last census, having decreased from 45,000, in 1874.

2. The birth rate during 1875 to 1880 was 41.32 per 1000 of the population, but unfortunately this large rate has not been maintained, for in 1896–99 it had dropped to 25.78, as will be seen below:

1876–80	41.32	per thousand
1881–85	36.50	"
1886–90	31.22	"
1891–95	27.66	"
1896–99	25.78	"

*Information for the Appendix was kindly furnished by Mr. T. A. Coghlan, Government Statistician, New South Wales.

There is a very considerable difference between the rates of the first and last periods, but this decline in the birth rate is not confined to New Zealand, it is common in all the Australian colonies, and is the weakest link in their progress. On the other hand, the death rates have decreased from 11.83 per thousand in 1876–80 to 9.59 per thousand in 1896–99. The decline, perhaps, is not very great, but owing to the salubrity of its climate New Zealand has always had the lowest death rate of any community within the British dominions, or indeed in the world, and its rate twenty-five years ago was lower than any now prevailing in the other Australasian colonies.

3. Education, which in all but the High Schools is free and in all Government schools is secular, has made very rapid strides. In 1875 there were 781 schools (primary and private) with 52,878 scholars on the roll. These figures mean that there was 1 school to every 481 of the people and that there were 14 scholars to every 100 persons. The proportion of schools has increased to 1 to every 381 persons, and the number of scholars to every 100 persons has risen to 20. The beneficeñt results of education may also be seen from the Census returns and in the marriage registers. At the Census of 1878, 72 per cent of the male and 66 per cent of the female population were able to read and write, while in 1896 the proportions were 81 per cent and 80 per cent respectively. In 1876 the number who signed the marriage registers with marks was 66 in every 1000 married, in 1886 it was 24, while in 1899 it had dropped to 5 only.

4. Side by side with the spread of education there has been a diminution in crime and an increase in the orderliness of the people, for, while in 1875 con-

victions in superior courts were 66 per 100,000 of the population and in Magistrates' courts 423 per 100,000, in 1898 there were only 47 and 222 respectively.

5. Owing to the generally rugged character of the country, and the natural difficulties to be overcome by tunnelling, railways have been constructed at great cost, while the cost of working is also very great, nevertheless, they yield a revenue which covers a large portion of the interest on their cost after paying working expenses, and their progress has been very steady. In 1881 the lines open for traffic totalled 1319 miles and the net earnings were £368,927, equal to £280 per mile, while in 1899 the mileage under traffic was 2,090 and the net earnings £539,927, representing £263 a mile. The following statement shows the development of the railways since 1880:

Period.	Population per mile of line open.	Capital Cost.	Net Earnings.	Train Miles Run per Inhabitant.
1881-82....	280	£ 9,443,000	£368,927	5.0
1886-87....	341	13,017,567	299,696	5.1
1891-92....	339	14,656,691	408,915	4.7
1896-97....	354	15,577,392	497,104	4.8
1898-99....	356	16,404,076	539,927	5.3

There are also 167 miles of private lines open.

6. The progress in postal and telegraphic facilities, and in the use made of them by the public, have also been very marked. In 1876 there were about 850 post offices open, of which 142 were telegraph stations, which in 1899 had increased to 1561 post offices and 878 telegraph stations, so that New Zealand now stands first amongst the countries of the world as regards the proportion of population to

each post office, the figures being 1 post office for every 510 inhabitants. In 1876 the number of letters carried was 5,885,400, of newspapers 3,981,400, and the number of messages forwarded by telegraph was 1,100,600; these by 1899 had increased to 35,654,900 letters, 15,095,500 newspapers and 2,960,700 telegrams, while in the same year (1899) 16,822,700 parcels, books and packets were dealt with. The figures, stated per 1000 of the population, are as follows:

Year.	Letters.	Newspapers.	Books and Parcels.	Telegrams.
1876.....	15,189	10,295	....	2,841
1881.	25,925	12,425	....	2,919
1886.....	32,702	12,299	....	3,153
1891.....	37,785	14,683	11,381	3,124
1896.....	43,093	18,709	19,583	3,567
1898...	47,541	20,128	22,431	3,948

There has been an enormous increase in the dealings in money orders, for while in 1876 the number issued was 80,255, of a value of £310,268, in 1898, 749,819 money orders and postal notes were issued, valued at £1,169,199.

7. The trade of New Zealand required in 1876 the services of 878 vessels, the number in 1899 being 609. At first sight there seems as if there had been no development of trade, but the tonnage figures show that it now requires twice the capacity it did in 1876, for in that year the ships entering the ports of the colony had a total tonnage of 393,180, or 448 tons per vessel; in 1899, the figures were 811,183 tons, or 1332 per vessel. A statement of the tonnage of shipping inwards at the beginning of each five years shows continued progress:

Year.	Tons.
1876...	393,180
1881...	420,134
1886...	502,572
1891...	618,515
1896...	614,097
1899...	811,183

The above figures only represent the foreign trade, there is besides the coastal trade, the vessels employed on which, in 1876, had a total tonnage of 1,905,317, which, in 1899, had increased to 6,642,907 tons.

8. The value of goods imported into New Zealand in 1876 was £6,905,171 and of goods exported from the colony £5,673,465, while the values of imports and exports in 1899 were £8,739,633 and £11,938,335 respectively. Practically all the imports are for home consumption and all the exports are the produce or manufacture of the colony; very little cargo in transit passes through New Zealand. The present values of imports is £11 13s. and of exports £15 18s. 4d. There were years in the early eighties when these values were exceeded, but if the fall in the prices of the staple productions of the colony be taken into account, it will be found that the quantities of goods imported and exported are both now larger than at any previous time. The value and progress of the trade is set out in the statement below:

	Annual Value of Imports.				Annual Value of Exports.			
Period.	Total.	Per Head.			Total.	Per Head.		
	£	£	s	d	£	£	s	d
1876-80..	7,434,170	17	8	3	6,022,491	14	2	2
1881-85..	7,836,832	14	16	6	6,745,296	12	15	2
1886-90..	6,303,163	10	9	3	8,091,974	13	8	6
1891-95..	6,709,314	10	3	0	9,173,577	13	17	6
1896-99..	8,040,694	11	0	9	10,448,597	14	6	10

The principal articles of domestic produce with their quantities and values exported in 1899 were as follows:

Wool.....	147,169,497 lbs.	£4,324,627
Butter and cheese...	205,526 cwt.	713,617
Frozen Meat.....	1,865,827 cwt.	2,088,856
Gold.....	387,570 oz.	1,513,180
Kauri Gum.....	11,116 tons.	607,919

9. One of the most satisfactory features in the progress of New Zealand is the way the people have settled on the land, and not crowded into the cities. The four chief cities of New Zealand together contain less than 30 per cent of the total population, which is in strong contrast with the case of Melbourne and Adelaide, which each contain 40 per cent of their colony's population. In 1899 there were nearly 16,000 Crown tenants holding about 15 million acres, and there were nearly 63,000 occupied and cultivated holdings over an acre in extent, while the total area sold or otherwise disposed of amounted to 22,585,000 acres, about one-third of the area of the colony. The distinguishing features of the present land system involve the principle of state ownership of the soil with a perpetual tenancy in the occupier.

10. It is generally admitted that there is no part of the British dominions where agriculture in its widest sense can be carried on with so much certainty and with such good results as in New Zealand, and full advantage has been taken of this fertility of soil. In 1876 there were 2,940,700 acres under cultivation, mostly of sown grasses, which grow and thrive as in no other place, and in 1899 the area had increased to 11,984,600 acres. The following statement shows the progress during each five years:

Year.	Area under cultivation—Acres.
1876	2,940,700
1881	5,189,100
1886	6,845,200
1891	8,893,200
1896	11,550,100
1899	11,984,600

All the cereals flourish well, but more especially Indian corn, which yields from 50 to 80 bushels per acre, the other principal grains produced being wheat, oats and barley. In 1876 the extent of land under wheat was 141,600 acres, and oats 150,700 acres, while, in 1899, the areas were 399,000 and 417,300 respectively.

11. The pastoral industry of the colony has progressed largely in every direction. The latest returns for sheep show that the number was 19,349,500, which is only exceeded by New South Wales. Since 1882, the inaugural year of the frozen meat trade, sheep-farming has undergone a radical change in New Zealand and sheep are now raised for mutton and wool. The number of horses at the present time is 262,400 and of swine 249,800. Cattle, which number 1,210,440, show a continual increase from the earliest times, and in New Zealand are free from any of the diseases so disastrous to horned stock in other countries. The growth of the various kinds of live stock is seen below:

Year.	Sheep. Number.	Horses. Number.	Cattle. Number.	Swine. Number.
1876....	13,069,300	137,800	578,400	207,300
1886....	16,564,600	187,400	853,400	277,900
1896....	18,128,200	249,800	1,047,900	209,900
1899....	19,349,500	262,400	1,210,440	249,800

12. The natural mineral resources of New Zea-

land are very great and have exercised a most important influence on the development and progress of the colony. The total value of minerals won up to the end of 1898 was £61,646,000, to which gold contributed £54,453,000, silver £236,000, and coal £6,681,000. Gold has always been the great mining industry of New Zealand, and bids fair to continue so, for the difficulty for many years experienced in working the beds of the larger rivers has at last been overcome by the use of dredging machinery, while the vast extent of the coal measures in New Zealand will make coal-mining one of the largest industries in the colony, the output having risen from 162,200 tons in 1878 to 907,000 tons in 1898. The production of the three principal minerals in 1898 was:

Gold	280,175 oz.	£1,080,691
Silver	293,851 oz.	33,107
Coal	907,033 tons.	453,517

13. New Zealand, although it has a rather complete system of local government, the colony being divided for this purpose into counties and boroughs, still has many charges for services, such as railways, etc., its public finances, and large debts have been incurred for the purpose of carrying them out. For the year ended 31st March, 1899, the receipts from all sources were £5,258,228, thus derived:

Railways	£1,465,507
Posts and Telegraphs	445,770
Customs and Beer Duties	2,041,231
Direct Taxation	747,162
Territorial Revenue	273,799
Other Revenue	284,759
Total	£5,258,228

The total expenditure was £5,283,511, distributed as follows:

Interest and Sinking Fund Charges.....	£1,767,468
Railways	968,917
Postal and Telegraph Services.....	388,546
Public Instruction.....	475,218
Paid to Public Works Fund.....	425,000
Other Services.....	1,258,362
Total.....	£5,283,511

This shows an excess of £25,283 in excess of receipts, but as there was £521,144 in hand at the beginning of the year the credit balance on 31st March, 1899, was £495,861. The gross public debt of the colony at the end of March, 1899, was £46,938,006, from which, deducting an accrued sinking fund of £857,279, leaves the net indebtedness at £46,080,727, equal to £61 14s. 4d. per head of population. This rate certainly is high, but it must be remembered that the burden of a public debt depends greatly on the increase in which it is expended on reproductive works. Owing to the generally mountainous and broken nature of the country, and the natural difficulties belonging to the sites of many of the towns, a large outlay on roads and public works has been necessary. Of the total amount outstanding £16,219,000 has been spent on truly reproductive works, viz., railways £15,390,000, telegraphs £829,000, while besides there has been expenditure on several other objects which may be considered to represent interest-bearing investments, such as the purchase of lands to promote settlement. The indebtedness under these heads is as follows:

Land Purchases	£3,542,000
Advances to Settlers	2,000,000
Loans to Local Bodies	1,240,000
Bank of New Zealand Preferred Shares	500,000
New Zealand Consols Deposits	386,000
Total	£7,668,000

These two together give a total of £23,887,000 expended on reproductive works, and amount to a little over 50 per cent of the total debt. The remainder, £23,051,006, represents the amount expended on unproductive works and services, and the difference between the face value of the stock issued and the actual amount of the loan received. The sum of £46,938,006 representing an annual interest charge of £1,786,272 and a cost of £62 17s. 3d. per head is no doubt large, but it is more than counterbalanced by the assets of the colony in the shape of the Crown lands and the reproductive services, railways, posts and telegraphs, the revenue from which in 1899 yielded £2,176,076.

14. At the beginning of 1876 the people of the colony had on deposit in the various banks a sum of £6,864,500, or £18 per inhabitant; this sum rapidly and steadily increased until at the beginning of 1899 it had nearly trebled and was £19,890,000, or £27 per inhabitant. The following statement shows the amount on deposit at the beginning of the various periods:

Year.	Amount.	Per Inhabitant.
	£	£ s. d.
1876	6,864,531	18 5 0
1886	12,225,856	21 5 0
1896	18,165,111	26 0 0
1899	19,890,116	26 15 0

There are in New Zealand only seven savings banks

which are not connected with the Post Office. The total amount to the credit of depositors in them in 1898 was £789,116. In all the savings banks the balance to the credit of depositors at the start of 1899 was £5,744,000, or nearly £8 per inhabitant, and the number of depositors was 199,464, or 1 in less than every four persons. The growth of the savings bank has been very fast as will be seen below:

Year.	Number of Depositors.	Amount on Deposit.	Average per Inhabitant.
		£	£ s. d.
1876	30,310	897,326	2 7 9
1886	85,769	2.142,560	3 14 6
1896	163,513	4,620,696	6 12 3
1899	199,464	5,746,887	7 14 7

In addition there were, at the end of 1897, 68 registered building societies, whose assets were valued at £937,587; and there were 388 Friendly societies, with a total membership of 32,670, with assets valued at £637,011, equivalent to £19 10s. per member.

15. In 1894 an important financial Act, termed the New Zealand Consols Act, was passed with the intention of providing further means of investment for the savings of people resident in the colony, and steady progress is being made in this class of deposits, there being invested on 31st March, 1899, a sum of £385,925.

In truth it may be said that, as the home of advanced legislation, New Zealand stands easily first. It was the first colony to confer the franchise upon females, and the first to inaugurate the system of advances to settlers, which has afforded so much relief to a numerous class of colonists who were struggling under the burden of high rates of interest and heavy legal expenses of mortgages.

In 1869 the New Zealand Government Life Insurance Department was established for the purpose of insuring and granting annuities on the lives of such people as desired to avail themselves of the guarantee of the colony in addition to the ordinary security provided by the funds of a life office. At the end of the first year 463 policies had been taken out, representing £206,361; by the end of 1898 the number of policies had increased to 37,848, and the sum assured to £9,304,722, while £819,485 had been distributed as bonus additions, and the department's assets were valued at the end of 1898 at £2,924,364.

And last, but by no means least, New Zealand has attempted the solution of a problem still unsolved in other countries, that is, a scheme for the payment of old age pension. In 1898, a bill was passed providing for the payment of an old age pension to every person of the full age of sixty-five years or upwards while in the colony, and without contribution by the beneficiaries. The full pension is £18 a year, and the total number granted up to 31st March, 1899, was 7,487, representing a yearly payment of £128,082, the average pension granted being about £17 2s.

PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND HISTORY.

CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

1642. Discovery by Abel Jansen Tasman.
1769. Captain Cook landed at Poverty Bay, Oct. 8.
1793. Lieutenant-Governor King visited Doubtless Bay.
1809. The Boyd massacre.
1814. Rev. S. Marsden arrived at Bay of Islands.
1820. Hongi visited England.
1821. Capture of Mauinaina Pa (Auckland Isthmus) by Hongi.
Fall of Te Totara Pa, Thames.
1822. Fall of Matakitaki Pa, Waitato.
1823, 1828. Acts passed for extension of the jurisdiction of the Courts of Justice in New South Wales to British subjects in New Zealand.
1825. First attempt at Colonisation (Captain Herd).
Ngati-Whatua defeated at Koipara by Hongi.
1827. Wesleyan mission at Whangaroa burned by Hongi's followers.
1828. Captain Dumont d'Urville visited Auckland Harbour.
1830. Seizure of Tama-i-hara-nui by Rauparaha at Akaroa.
Destruction of Kaiapoi Pa by Rauparaha.
1831. Thirteen chiefs applied for the protection of King William the Fourth.
Capture of Pukerangiora Pa by Waikato.
1832. Waikato repulsed in an attack on Ngamotu Pa, Taranaki.
1833. Mr. James Busby appointed British Resident.

1834. H. M. S. *Alligator* destroyed Waimate Pa, near Opunake.

1835. "The United Tribes of New Zealand" published declaration of independence of whole of New Zealand.

Portion of Ngatiawa tribe migrated to Chatham Islands.

1836. Fighting between the Waikato and Te Arawa.

1838. French Roman Catholic Bishop Pompallier arrived at Hokianga.

1839. May 12. New Zealand Company's first expedition left England.

June. Letters Patent authorising Governor of New South Wales to include within the limits of the colony any territory acquired by Crown in New Zealand.

Sept. New Zealand Company's first emigrants left England.

Sept. Colonel Wakefield arrived in New Zealand.

1840. Jan. First steamer arrived in New Zealand.

First emigrants landed at Port Nicholson.

Jan. 29. Captain Hobson arrived at Bay of Islands.

Feb. 5. Treaty of Waitangi signed.

May 21. Proclamation of sovereignty over New Zealand.

Aug. 11. British flag hoisted at Akaroa.

Sept. 18. Auckland chosen as capital.

Wanganui settled under the name of "Petre."

1841. Feb. 12. Charter of incorporation issued to New Zealand Company.

March 31. New Plymouth settlers arrived.

May 3. New Zealand proclaimed independent of New South Wales.

Oct. Nelson selected as site for settlement.

1842. Feb. 1. Nelson founded.

May 29. Bishop Selwyn arrived.

Sept. 10. Governor Hobson died. Lieutenant Shortland, Colonial Secretary, became Acting-Governor.

1843. June. Wairau massacre.
Dec. 1. Governor Fitzroy arrived.
1844. July 8. Flagstaff at Kororareka cut down by Heke.
1845. March 10. Kororareka attacked and destroyed.
Oct. 1. Despatch received recalling Fitzroy.
Nov. 14. Arrival of Captain Grey.
1846. Jan. 11. Fall of Ruapekapeka and end of Heke's war.
March. Native outbreak in the Hutt valley.
May. Attack on military outpost, Hutt valley.
July 23. Capture of Rauparaka at Porirua.
Aug. 28. New Zealand Government Act passed; Charter issued dividing Colony into two parts and granting representative government.
1847. Fighting at Wanganui.
1848. Jan. 3. Major-General Pitt appointed by Grey Lieutenant-Governor of Province of New Ulster.
Jan. 28. Eyre began his duties at Wellington as Lieutenant-Governor of New Munster.
March 7. That portion of New Zealand Government Act suspended which had conferred representative institutions.
March. Otago founded (under auspices of New Zealand Company) by Scotch settlers belonging to the Free Church.
Oct. Earthquake at Wellington.
1850. July. New Zealand Company's Charter surrendered.
Dec. Canterbury founded by Canterbury Association.
1852. Gold discovered at Coromandel.
June 30. Constitution Act passed by Imperial Parliament.
1853. June. Constitution Act proclaimed.
Dec. 31. Departure of Sir George Grey.
1854. Jan. 3. Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard became Acting Governor.
May 27. Opening of first session of General Assembly at Auckland.
1855. Sept. 6. Governor Gore Browne arrived.

Nov. 12. First members elected to House of Representatives under Responsible Government.
Aug. 8. General Assembly opened.
1856. May 7. First Ministry appointed under leadership of Mr. Sewell.
May 14. Defeat of Sewell Ministry.
May 20. Ministry formed under Mr. W. Fox.
May 28. Fox Ministry defeated.
June 2. Stafford Ministry formed.
1857. Payable gold discovered at Collingwood, Nelson.
1858. Nov. 1. Province of Hawke's Bay established.
1859. March. Teira offered land at Waitara for sale to Government. Sale opposed by Wiremu Kingi.
Nov. Province of Marlborough established.
1860. March. Hostilities against Wiremu Kingi began.
March 18. Maori Pa at Waitara captured.
March 28. Engagement at Waireka.
June 27. Engagement at Puketakauere.
Nov. 6. Waikatos defeated at Mahoetahi.
Dec. 31. Capture of Matarikoriko Pa.
1861. Jan. 23. Attack by natives on redoubt at Huirangi repulsed.
May 21. Truce agreed to.
May. Gold discovered at Gabriel's Gully, Otago.
July 5. The Stafford Ministry defeated.
July 12. Mr. Fox again Prime Minister.
July 29. Bank of New Zealand incorporated.
Sept. 26. Sir George Grey arrived from Cape Colony.
1862. July 28. Fox Ministry defeated on motion to place conduct of Native affairs under control of Responsible Ministers.
Aug. 6. Mr. Alfred Domett's Ministry.
1863. Feb. 26. Imperial Government relinquished control over administration of Native affairs.
May 4. Maoris attacked military escort near Tataraimaka.
July 17. Waikato War opened.
Oct. 27. Resignation of Domett Ministry.

Oct. 30. Ministry formed under leadership of Mr Whitaker.
Nov. General Assembly accepted responsibility in Native affairs.
Nov. 20. Defeat of Maoris at Rangiriri.
Dec. 1. First New Zealand railway opened at Christchurch.
Dec. 3. New Zealand Settlement Act passed, conferring power on Governor to confiscate land of rebels.
Dec. 8. Occupation of Ngaruawahia.

1864. Feb. 22. Natives defeated at Rangiaohia.
April 2. Capture of Orakau Pa.
April 29. British repulsed in attack on Gate Pa, Tauranga.
May 13. Battle between friendly natives and rebel Hau-Haus at Moutua, island in Wanganua River.
Discovery of gold on west coast of Middle Island.
Oct. 3. Wellington selected as seat of government.
Nov. 24. Mr. F. A. Weld formed Ministry, consequent on resignation of Whitaker government.

1865. March 6. Mr. Volckner, Church of England missionary, murdered by Hau-Haus at Obotiki.
June 8. Submission of Wiremu Tamihana (William Thompson).
Sept. 2. Peace proclaimed (end of Oakura war).
Oct. 16. On resignation of Weld Ministry, Mr. E. W. Stafford formed a Ministry.
Dec. 25. Rebels defeated at Wairoa.

1866. Jan. 4. Major-General Chute defeated natives at Okotuku Pa. He afterwards captured Putahi and Otapawa Pas, and then marched through the forest to New Plymouth.
March 29. Te Heu Heu submitted.
Opening of Panama steam mail service.
Cable laid across Cook's Strait.
Oct. 12. Rebels defeated at Omaranui.

1867. Oct. 10. Act passed dividing Colony into Maori electorates; one Maori member from each electorate in House of Representatives.

1868. Jan. County of Westland established.
Feb. 6. Governor Sir George F. Bowen arrived.
July 4. Te Kooti seized the schooner *Rifleman* and escaped with followers from Chatham Islands.
Aug. 8. Lieutenant-Colonel Whitmore, in pursuit of Chatham Island escapees, fought indecisive action in Ruake Ture Gorge.
Nov. 7. Colonial forces defeated at Moturoa.
Nov. 10. Thirty-two Europeans massacred at Poverty Bay by Te Kooti's followers.

1869. Jan. 5. Capture of Ngatapa Pa, Poverty Bay, and dispersal of Te Kooti's followers there.
June 24. Stafford Ministry defeated.
June 28. Mr. W. Fox again Premier.

1870. March 25. Major Kepa (Kemp), with force of friendly natives, defeated Te Kooti at Maraetahi.
March 26. Opening of San Francisco mail service.
June 28. Mr. Vogel, Colonial Treasurer, formulated his Public Works policy.
Sept. 12. Act passed for establishing New Zealand University.
Sept. 12. Land Transfer Act passed.

1871. March. Railway construction commenced under Public Works policy.

1872. Sept. Defeat of Fox Ministry.
New Ministry under Hon. E. W. Stafford defeated in October, and Hon. G. M. Waterhouse became Premier.
Oct. 11. Two Maori Chiefs appointed to Legislative Council.

1873. Jan. New Zealand Shipping Company formed.
March 3. Hon. W. Fox became Premier, *vice* Hon. G. M. Waterhouse, resigned.
March 19. Departure of Governor Bowen, Chief Justice Sir C. A. Arney acting as Administrator.
April 8. Hon. J. Vogel became Premier, instead of Hon. W. Fox.

1874. June 14. Governor Sir J. Fergusson arrived.
Dec. 3. Arrival of Marquis of Normanby as Governor.

During this year 31,774 immigrants introduced into the Colony.

1875. July 6. Sir J. Vogel being in England, the Ministry reconstituted, under leadership of the Hon. Dr. Pollen.

During this year 18,324 immigrants introduced.

Oct. 12. Abolition of Provinces Act passed.

1876. Feb. 15. Sir J. Vogel again Premier.

Feb. 18. Telegraph cable between New Zealand and New South Wales completed.

Sept. 1. Sir J. Vogel appointed Agent-General.

New Ministry formed by Major Atkinson.

Nov. 1. "Abolition of Provinces Act, 1875," put into force.

1877. Oct. 15. Atkinson Ministry having been defeated, Sir George Grey became Minister.

Nov. 29. Education Act passed. It provided for free and compulsory education.

1879. March 27. Sir Hercules G. R. Robinson became Governor, in place of Marquis of Normanby, who left New Zealand, February 29.

May 25. Native disturbance at Parihaka.

Oct. 3. Resignation of Sir George Grey's Ministry. Succeeded by Ministry with Mr. John Hall as Premier (October 8).

Dec. 19. Triennial Parliament Act; Act for Assessing Property for Taxation.

1880. Sept. 8. Departure of Sir Hercules Robinson.

Nov. 29. Arrival of Governor Sir A. H. Gordon.

1881. Nov. 5. Arrest of Te Whiti.

1882. Feb. 15. First New Zealand shipment of frozen meat from Port Chalmers.

April 21. Reconstruction of Hon. John Hall's Ministry, under premiership of Hon. F. Whitaker.

June 23. Departure of Sir A. H. Gordon.

1883. Jan. 20. Arrival of Sir W. F. D. Jervis as Governor.

Sept. 25. On resignation of Hon. F. Whitaker, the Hon. Major H. A. Atkinson became Premier.

1884. Atkinson Ministry having been defeated in June, Par-

liament was dissolved and a general election held. Major Atkinson then resigned, and Mr. Robert Stout formed a Ministry, which was defeated August 20. Major Atkinson again in power, but was defeated next day, and Mr. Stout formed a Ministry.

1885. Aug. 1. Industrial Exhibition at Wellington.

1886. June 10. Volcanic eruption at Tarawera.

1887. May 28. Defeat of Sir Robert Stout's Ministry.

Oct. 8. Major Atkinson again Premier.

Dec. 19. Act passed reducing number of members of House of Representatives to 74.

Dec. 23. Australian Naval Defence Act passed.

1889. Departure of Sir W. F. D. Jervis, March 22, and arrival of Earl of Onslow, May 2.

Sept. Statute prohibiting electors from voting for more than one electorate.

1891. Jan. 24. Resignation of Atkinson Ministry and formation of new Ministry by Hon. John Ballance.

Aug. 19. Employers' Liability Act (1882) Amendment Act passed.

Sept. 8. Repeal of Property Tax, and passing of Land and Income Assessment Act.

Sept. 21. Act passed for regulation of factories and workrooms.

1892. Feb. 2. Departure of Governor, the Earl of Onslow.

June 7. Governor Glasgow arrived.

Oct. 1. Contractors' and Workmen's Lien Act.

Oct. 2. Dairy Industry Act.

Oct. 11. Land and Income Tax Act.

Land Act.

Land for Settlements Act.

1893. April. Death of Hon. John Ballance and formation of Ministry by Hon. R. J. Seddon.

Sept. Act conferring franchise on women passed.

Oct. Workmen's Wages Act.

1894. Aug. Conspiracy Law Amendment Act.

Aug. Act to encourage industrial unions and associations, and to facilitate settlement of industrial disputes by arbitration.

Oct. Advances to Settlers Act.
Shop and Shop Assistants Act.
1895. Sept. Servants' Registry Office Act.
Family Homes Protection Act.
1897. Earl of Ranfurly became Governor.
1898. Death of Sir George Grey.
Old Age Pensions Act.

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